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**CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA**

*SI-YU-KI*

Buddhist Records  
of  
The Western World

# CHINESE ACCOUNTS OF INDIA

*Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*

by  
SAMUEL BEAL

*Volume Two*

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#### PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This is the second volume of the accounts of travels of Hiuen Tsiang who translated into Chinese 657 works from the original Sanskrit. Herein he records the different manners of different countries, the diverse customs of separate people, the various products of the soil and class divisions of the people and has written down the most sacred principles of the religion of the Buddha.

This volume is a verbatim reprint of the Books II to V of the original work, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, and the subsequent volumes will contain the other Books of the Records.



## BOOK II

*Relates to Three Countries, viz., (1) Lan-po, (2) Na-kie-lo-ho and (3) Kien-t'o-lo.*

### 1. Names of India

On examination, we find that the names of India (T'ienchu) are various and perplexing as to their authority. It was anciently called Shin-tu, also Hien-tau; but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called In-tu. The people of In-tu call their country by different names according to their district. Each country has diverse customs. Aiming at a general name which is the best sounding, we will call the country In-tu.<sup>1</sup> In Chinese this name signifies the Moon. The moon has many names, of which this is one. For as it is said that all living things ceaselessly revolve in the wheel (*of transmigration*) through the long night of ignorance, without a guiding star, their case is like (*the world*), the sun gone down; as then the torch affords its connecting light, though there be the shining of the stars, how different from the bright (*cool*) moon; just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called In-tu.

The families of India are divided into castes, the Brahmans particularly (*are noted*) on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hallowed the name of this tribe that there is no question as to difference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the country of the Brahmans (Po-lo-men).

### 2. Extent of India, Climate, &c.

The countries embraced under this term of India are generally spoken of as the five Indies. In circuit this country is about 90,000 li; on three sides it is bordered by the great sea; on the north it is backed by the Snowy Mountains. The north part is broad, the southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half-moon. The entire land is divided into seventy countries or so. The seasons are particularly hot; the land is well watered<sup>2</sup> and humid. The north is a continuation of mountains and hills, the ground being dry and salt. On the east there are valleys and plains, which being well watered and cultivated, are fruitful and productive. The southern district is wooded and herbaceous;

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv. tom. x. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Has many fountains.

the western parts are stony and barren. Such is the general account of this country.

### 3. Measures of Length

To give a brief account of matters. In point of measurements, there is first of all the *yojana* (*yu-shen-na*) ; this from the time of the holy kings of old has been regarded as a day's march for an army. The old accounts say it is equal to 40 *li*; according to the common reckoning in India it is 30 *li*, but in the sacred books (of Buddha) the *yojana* is only 16 *li*.

In the subdivision of distances, a *yojana* is equal to eight *krosas* (*keu-lu-she*) ; a *krosa* is the distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard ; a *krosa* is divided into 500 bows (*dhanus*) ; a bow is divided into four cubits (*hastas*) ; a cubit is divided into 24 fingers (*angulis*) ; a finger is divided into seven barley-corns (*yavas*) ; and so on to a louse (*yuka*), a nit (*liksha*), a dust grain, a cow's hair, a sheep's hair, a hare's down, copper-water,<sup>3</sup> and so on for seven divisions, till we come to a small grain of dust ; this is divided sevenfold till we come to an excessively small grain of dust (*anu*) ; this cannot be divided further without arriving at nothingness, and so it is called the infinitely small (*paramanu*).

### 4. Astronomy, the Calendar, &c.

Although the revolution of the *Yin* and *Yang* principles and the successive mansions of the sun and moon be called by names different from ours, yet the seasons are the same ; the names of the months are derived from the position (*of the moon in respect*) of the asterisms.

The shortest portion of time is called a *t'sa-na* (*kshana*) ; 120 *kshandas* make a *ta-t'sa-na* (*takshana*) ; 60 of these make a *la-fo* (*lava*) ; 30 of these make a *mau-hu-li-to* (*mahurta*) ; five of these make "a period of time" (*kala*) ; six of these make a day and night (*ahoratra*),<sup>4</sup> but commonly the day and night are divided into eight *kalas*.<sup>5</sup>

The period from the new moon till full moon is called the white division (*Sukla-paksha*) of the month ; the period from the full moon till the disappearance (*of the light*) is called the dark portion (*Krishna-paksha*). The dark portion comprises fourteen or fifteen days, because the month is sometimes long and sometimes short. The preceding dark portion and the

<sup>3</sup> An enumeration corresponding to that in the text will be found in the *Lalita Vistara* (Foucaux, p. 142) and in the *Romantic Legend of Buddha* (p. 87). The expression copper-water may refer to the size of the small hole made in the *tamri* or copper cup for the admission of water.

<sup>4</sup> Three in the day, three in the night.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>5</sup> Four for the day and four for the night ; each of these *kalas* is again divided into four parts or periods (*sles*).—*Ch. Ed.*

following light portion together form a month; six months form a "march" (*hing.s. ayana*). The sun when it moves within (*the equator*) is said to be on its northward march;<sup>6</sup> when it moves without (*the equator*) it is on its southern march.<sup>7</sup> These two periods form a year (*vatsara*).

The year, again, is divided into six seasons. From the 16th day of the 1st month till the 15th day of the 3rd month is the season of gradual heat; from the 16th day of the 3rd month till the 15th day of the 5th month is called the season of full heat; from the 16th day of the 5th month till the 15th day of the 7th month is called the rainy season; from the 16th day of the 7th month till the 15th day of the 9th month is called the season of growth (*vegetation*); from the 16th day of the 9th month to the 15th day of the 11th month is called the season of gradual cold; from the 16th day of the 11th month to the 15th day of the 1st month is called the season of great (*full*) cold.<sup>8</sup>

According to the holy doctrine of Tathagata, the year is divided into three seasons. From the 16th day of the 1st month till the 15th day of the 5th month is called the hot season; from the 16th day of the 5th month till the 15th day of the 9th month is called the wet season; from the 16th day of the 9th month to the 15th day of the 1st month is called the cold season. Again, there are four seasons, called spring, summer, autumn, winter. The three spring months are called *Chi-ta-lo* (Chaitra) month, *Fei-she-kie* (Vaisaka) month, *She-se-ch'a* (Jyeshtha): these correspond with the time from the 16th day of the 1st month to the 15th of the 4th month. The three summer months are called *'An-sha-cha* (Ashadha) month, *Chi-lo-fa-na* (Sravana) month, *Po-ta-lo-pa-to* (Bhadrapada) month; these correspond to the time between the 16th day of the 4th month to the 15th day of the 7th month. The three autumn months are called, *'An-shi-fo-ku<sup>9</sup>-che* (Asvayuja) month, *Kia-li-ta-ka* (Karttika) month, *Wi<sup>10</sup>kia-chi-lo* (Margasirsha) month; these correspond to the time between the 16th day of the 7th month to the 15th day of the 10th month. The three months of winter are called *P'o-sha* (Pushya) month, *Ma-ku* (Magha) month, and *P'o-li-kiu-na* (Phalguna) month; these correspond with the time between the 16th day of the 10th month to the 15th day of the 1st month.

<sup>6</sup> *Uttarayana*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dakshinayana*.

<sup>8</sup> These six seasons (*ritavas*) are respectively (1) *Vasanta*, including the months of Chaitra and Vaisakha; (2) *Grishma*—Jyeshtha and Ashadha; (3) *Varshas*—Sravana and Bhadrapada; (4) *Sarada*—Asvina and Karttika; (5) *Hemanta*—Margasirsha and Pushya; and (6) *Sisira*—Magha and Phalguna. In the south they are reckoned as beginning a month later.

<sup>9</sup> The symbol *ku* is for *yu*.—Julien in loc.

<sup>10</sup> The symbol *wi* is for *mo*.—Jul.

in China. In old times in India the priestly fraternity, relying on the holy teaching of Buddha, had a double<sup>11</sup> resting-time (*during the rains*), viz., either the former three months or the latter three months; these periods were either from the 16th day of the 5th month to the 15th day of the 8th month, or from the 16th day of the 6th month to the 15th day of the 9th month.

Translators of the *Sutras* (*king*) and the *Vinaya* (*liu*) belonging to former generations employed the terms *Tsohia* and *Tso-la-hia*<sup>12</sup> to signify the rest during the rainy season; but this was because the ignorant (*common*) people of the frontier countries did not understand the right sounds of the language of the middle country (India), or that they translated before they comprehended the local phrases: this was the cause of error. And for the same reason occur the mistakes about the time of Tathagata's conception, birth, departure from his home, enlightenment, and *Nirvana*, which we shall notice in the subsequent records.

### 5. Towns and Buildings

The towns and villages have inner gates;<sup>13</sup> the walls are wide and high; the streets and lanes are tortuous, and the roads winding. The thoroughfares are dirty and the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes without the city. In coming and going these persons are bound to keep on the left side of the road till they arrive at their homes. Their houses are surrounded by low walls and form the suburbs. The earth being soft and muddy, the walls of the towns are mostly built of brick or tiles. The towers on the walls are constructed of wood or bamboo; the houses have balconies and belvederes, which are made of wood, with a coating of lime or mortar and covered with tiles. The different buildings have the same form as those in China: rushes, or dry branches, or tiles, or boards are used for covering them. The walls are covered with lime and mud, mixed with

<sup>11</sup> I have preferred not to alter the text, and so translate the passage literally. The "double period" of rest during the rainy season was an early ordinance, found in the *Vinaya*. It was so arranged that those who were prevented from arriving at the appointed time might begin their "rest" a month later. If, however, we suppose the symbol *liang* to be a mistake for *yu*, then the passage will run thus: "The priestly fraternity retired into fixed dwellings during the rainy season." See Burhouf, *Introd.*, p. 254.

<sup>12</sup> I cannot but think that *hia* and *la* in these phrases are intended to be phonetic equivalents for *Varsha*, and that the author is pointing out the error of those who adopted such inadequate sounds. M. Julien's explanation, however, may be the correct one (vid. Julien *in loc.*, n. 1).

<sup>13</sup> Such is the meaning generally assigned to the symbols *leu yen*. I do not understand the translation given by Julien; the texts perhaps are different.

cow's dung for purity. At different seasons they scatter flowers about. Such are some of their different customs.

The *sangharamas* are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower<sup>14</sup> is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside.<sup>15</sup> In the very middle<sup>16</sup> of the building is the hall, high and wide. There are various storeyed chambers and turrets of different height and shape, without any fixed rule. The doors open towards the east; the royal throne also faces the east.

#### 6. Seats, Clothing, &c.

When they sit or rest they all use mats;<sup>17</sup> the royal family and the great personages and assistant officers use mats variously ornamented, but in size they are the same. The throne of the reigning sovereign is large and high, and much adorned with precious gems: it is called the Lion-throne (*simhasana*). It is covered with extremely fine drapery; the footstool is adorned with gems. The nobility use beautifully painted and enriched seats, according to their taste.

#### 7. Dress, Habits, &c.

Their clothing is not cut or fashioned; they mostly affect fresh-white garments; they esteem little those of mixed colour or ornamented. The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose. Some of the men cut off their moustaches, and have other odd customs. On their heads the people wear caps (*crowns*), with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of *Kiau-she-ye* (*kauseya*) and of cotton. *Kiau-she-ye* is the product of the wild silkworm.

<sup>14</sup> The phrase *chung koh* means "a storeyed room or pavilion;" so at least I understand it. M. Julien translates as though it meant a double-storeyed room, or a pavilion with two storeys. The passage literally translated is: "Angle towers rise on the four sides; there are (or they are) storeyed buildings of three stages."

<sup>15</sup> I take *li shu* to mean "the monks" or "the religious," the dark-clad.

<sup>16</sup> The phrase *ngau shih* may mean "the sleeping apartments," as Julien translates; but I hesitate to give it this meaning, because the monks slept in their cells, and not in a dormitory. The hall I take to be the hall for religious worship. The account here given corresponds very closely with the description of the Viharas in Nepal at the present day.

<sup>17</sup> The expression here used may mean "matted beds" or "seats." It is commonly used to denote the *nishadya* (Pali, *nisidhanam*) or mats used by Buddhists.

They have garments also of *Ts'o-mo* (kshauma), which is a sort of hemp; garments also made of *Kien-po-lo* (kambala) which is woven from fine goat-hair; garments also made from *Ho-la-li* (karala).<sup>18</sup> This stuff is made from the fine hair of a wild animal: it is seldom this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable, and it is regarded as fine clothing.

In North India, where the air is cold, they wear short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people. The dress and ornaments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear peacocks' feathers; some wear as ornaments necklaces made of skull bones (the *Kapaladharinas*); some have no clothing, but go naked (*Nirgranthas*); some wear leaf or bark garments; some pull out their hair and cut off their moustaches; others have bushy whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads. The costume is not uniform, and the colour, whether red or white, not constant.

The Shamans (Sramanas) have only three kinds<sup>19</sup> of robes, viz., the *Sang-kio-ki*, the *Ni-fo-si-na*. The cut of the three robes is not the same, but depends on the school. Some have wide or narrow borders, others have small or large flaps. The *Sang-kio-ki* covers the left shoulder and conceals the two armpits. It is worn open on the left and closed on the right. It is cut longer than the waist. The *Ni-fo-se-na* has neither girdle nor tassels. When putting it on, it is plaited in folds and worn round the lions with a cord fastening. The schools differ as to the colour of this garment: both yellow and red are used.

The Kshattriyas and the Brahmans are cleanly and wholesome in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and the great ministers wear garments and ornaments different in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces.

There are rich merchants who deal exclusively<sup>20</sup> in gold trinkets, and so on. They mostly go bare-footed; few wear sandals. They stain their teeth red or black; they bind up their hair and pierce their ears; they ornament<sup>21</sup> their noses, and have large eyes. Such is their appearance.

#### 8. *Clearliness, Ablutions, &c.*

They are very particular in their personal cleanliness, and allow no remissness in this particular. All wash themselves before eating; they never use that which has been left over (from a

<sup>18</sup> The Japanese equivalents are *Ka-ra-tsi*.

<sup>19</sup> There are only two names given in the text. The first, viz., the *Seng-kia-chi*—*Sanghati* is omitted. The other two are the *Sankakshika* and the *Nivasana*.

<sup>20</sup> It may also mean that the great merchants use only bracelets.

<sup>21</sup> This may also mean "they have handsome noses."

*former meal*); they do not pass the dishes. Wooden and stone vessels, when used, must be destroyed; vessels of gold, silver, copper, or iron after each meal must be rubbed and polished. After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth.

Until these ablutions are finished they do not touch one another. Every time they perform the functions of nature they wash their bodies and use perfumes of sandal-wood or turmeric.

When the king washes<sup>22</sup> they strike the drums and sing hymns to the sound of musical instruments. Before offering their religious services and petitions, they wash and bathe themselves.

#### 9. Writing, Language, Books, the *Vedas*, Study

The letters of their alphabet were arranged by Brahma-deva, and their forms have been handed down from the first till now. They are forty-seven in number, and are combined so as to form words according to the object, and according to circumstances (*of time or place*): there are other forms (*inflexions*) used. This alphabet has spread in different directions and formed diverse branches, according to circumstances; therefore there have been slight modifications in the sounds of the words (*spoken language*); but in its great features there has been no change. Middle India preserves the original character of the language in its integrity. Here the pronunciation is soft and agreeable, and like the language of the Devas. The pronunciation of the words is clear and pure, and fit as a model for all men. The people of the frontiers have contracted several erroneous modes of pronunciation; for according to the licentious habits of the people, so also will be the corrupt nature of their language.

With respect to the records of events, each province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The record of these events in their full character is called *Ni-lo-pi-ch'a* (*Nilā-pita, blue deposit*). In these records are mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences.

To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught (*led*) to study the book of twelve chapters (*Siddhavastu*).<sup>23</sup>

After arriving at the age of seven years and upwards, the young are instructed in the five *Vidyas*, *Sastras* of great importance.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Julien translates "when the king is going out;" but in my copy it is as in the text.

<sup>23</sup> This work in twelve chapters is that called *Siddhavastu* (*Sih-ti-chang*) in the *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi* (book xiv. 17 a). It is called *Sih-ti-lo-su-to* by *I-tsing* (*Nan-hæ*, iv. 8 a) by mistake for *Sih-ti-po-su-to*, i.e., *Siddhavastu*. For some remarks on this subject see Max Muller's letter to the Academy, Sept. 25, 1880; also *Indian Antq.* vol. ix, p. 307.

<sup>24</sup> Or, it may be translated "the great *Sastra* or *Sastras* of the five *Vidyas*," in Chinese, *Ming*. See Book iii. note 102.

The first is called the elucidation of sounds (*Sabdavidya*). This treatise explains and illustrates the agreement (*concordance*) of words, and it provides an index for derivatives.

The second *vidya* is called *Kiau-ming* (*Silpasthanavidya*) ; it treats of the arts, mechanics, explains the principles of the *Yin* and *Yang* and the calendar.

The third is called the medicinal treatise (*Chikitsavidya*) ; it embraces formulae for protection, secret charms (*the use of*) medicinal stones, acupuncture, and mugwort.

The fourth *vidya* is called the *Hetuvidya* (*science of cause*) ; its name is derived from the character of the work, which relates to the determination of the true and false, and reduces to their last terms the definition of right and wrong.

The fifth *vidya* is called the science of "the interior" (*Adhyatmavidya*) ; it relates to the five vehicles,<sup>25</sup> their causes and consequences, and the subtle influences of these.

The Brahmins study the four *Veda Sastras*. The first is called *Shau* (*longevity*) ; it relates to the preservation of life and the regulation of the natural condition. The second is called *Sse* (*sacrifice*) ; it relates to the (*rules of*) sacrifice and prayer. The third is called *Ping* (*peace or regulation*) ; it relates to decorum, casting of lots, military affairs, and army regulations. The fourth is called *Shu* (*secret mysteries*) ; it relates to various branches of science, incantations, medicine.<sup>26</sup>

The teachers (*of these works*) must themselves have closely studied the deep and secret principles they contain, and penetrated to their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense, and guide their pupils in understanding the words which are difficult. They urge them on and skilfully conduct them. They add lustre to their poor knowledge, and stimulate the desponding. If they find that their pupils are satisfied with their acquirements, and so wish to escape to attend to their wordly duties, then they use means to keep them in their power. When they have finished their education, and have attained thirty years of age, then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation they first of all thank their master for his attention. There are some, deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies, and live apart from the world, and retain the simplicity of their character. These rise above mundane presents, and are as insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world. Their name having spread afar, the rulers appreciate them highly, but are unable to draw them to the court. The

<sup>25</sup> The five Vehicles, i.e., the five degrees of religious advance among the Buddhists : (1) The vehicle of Buddha. (2) of the Bodhisattvas. (3) of the Pratyeka Buddha. (4) of the ordained disciple. (5) of the lay disciple.

<sup>26</sup> The four *Vedas*, in the order they are here spoken of, are the *Ayur Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, the *Sama Veda*, the *Atharva Veda*.

chief of the country honours them on account of their (*mental*) gifts, and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage. This is the reason of their devoting themselves to their studies with ardour and resolution, without any sense of fatigue. They search for wisdom, relying on their own resources. Although they are possessed of large wealth, yet they will wander here and there to seek their subsistence. There are others who, whilst attaching value to letters, will yet without shame consume their fortunes in wandering about for pleasure, neglecting their duties. They squander their substance in costly food and clothing. Having no virtuous principle and no desire to study, they are brought to disgrace, and their infamy is widely circulated.

So, according to the class they belong to, all gain knowledge of the doctrine of Tathagata; but, as the time is distant since the holy one lived, his doctrine is presented in a changed form, and so it is understood, rightly or not, according to the intelligence of those who inquire into it.

#### 10. Buddhist Schools, Books, Discussions, Discipline

The different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different sects have their separate masters, and in various directions aim at one end.

There are Eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The partisans of the Great and Little Vehicle are content to dwell apart. There are some who give themselves up to quiet contemplation, and devote themselves, whether walking or standing still or sitting down, to the acquirement of wisdom and insight; others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith. According to their fraternity, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, which we need not name.

The *Vinaya* (*lui*), discourses (*lun*), *sutras* (*king*), are equally Buddhist books. He who can entirely explain one class of these books is exempted from the control of the *karmadana*. If he can explain two classes, he receives in addition the equipments of an upper seat (*room*); he who can explain three classes has allotted to him different servants to attend to and obey him; he who can explain four classes has "pure men" (*upasakas*) allotted to him as attendants; he who can explain five classes of books is then allowed an elephant carriage; he who can explain six classes of books is allowed a surrounding escort. When a man's renown has reached to a high distinction, then at different times he convokes an assembly for discussion. He judges of the superior or inferior talent of those who take part in it; he distinguishes their good or bad points; he praises the clever and reprobates the faulty; if one of the

assembly distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, deep penetration, and severe logic, then he is mounted on an elephant covered with precious ornaments, and conducted by a numerous suite to the gates of the convent.

If, on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses poor and inelegant phrases or if he violates a rule in logic and adapts his words accordingly, they proceed to disfigure his face with red and white, and cover his body with dirt and dust, and then carry him off to some deserted spot or leave him in a ditch. Thus they distinguish between the meritorious and the worthless, between the wise and the foolish.

The pursuit of pleasure belongs to a worldly life, to follow knowledge to a religious life; to return to a wordly life from one of religion is considered blameworthy. If one breaks the rules of discipline, the transgressor is publicly reproved: for a slight fault a reprimand is given or a temporary banishment (*enforced silence*); for a grave fault expulsion is enforced. Those who are thus expelled for life go out to seek some dwelling-place, or, finding no place of refuge, wander about the roads; sometimes they go back to their old occupation (*resume lay life*).

### 11. Castes—Marriage

With respect to the division of families, there are four classifications. The first is called the Brahman (*Po-lo-men*), men of pure conduct. They guard themselves in religion, live purely, and observe the most correct principles. The second is called Kshattriya (*T'sa-ti-li*), the royal caste. For ages they have been the governing class: they apply themselves to virtue (*humanity*) and kindess. The third is called Vaisyas (*fei-she-li*), the merchant class: they engage in commercial exchange, and they follow profit at home and abroad. The fourth is called Sudra (*Shu-t'o-lo*), the agricultural class: they labour in ploughing and tillage. In these four classes purity or impurity of caste assigns to every one of his place. When they marry they rise or fall in position according to their new relationship. They do not allow promiscuous marriages between relations. A woman once married can never take another husband. Besides these there are other classes of many kinds that intermarry according to their several callings. It would be difficult to speak of these in detail.

### 12. Royal Family, Troops, Weapons

The succession of kings is confined to the Kshattriya (*T'sa-li*) caste, who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power. Although a distinct caste, they are regarded as honourable (*or lords*).

The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the

bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. These dwell in garrison around the palace (*during peace*), but when on an expedition they march in front as an advanced guard. There are four divisions of the army, viz.—(1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, (4) the elephants.<sup>27</sup> The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with sharp spurs. A leader in a car gives the command, whilst two attendants on the right and left drive his chariot, which is drawn by four horses abreast. The general of the soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels.

The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings.<sup>28</sup> All these they have used for ages.

### 13. Manners, Administration of Law, Ordeals

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, whilst in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals or rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome. When the laws are broken or the power of the ruler violated, then the matter is clearly sifted and the offenders imprisoned. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of propriety or justice are violated, or when a man fails in fidelity or final piety, then they cut his nose or his ears off, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will redeem the punishment. In the investigation of

<sup>27</sup> I.e., the *pattakaya*, *asvakaya*, *rathakaya*, and *hastikaya* divisions.

<sup>28</sup> Compare the weapons in the hands of soldiers represented in the Ajanta frescoes.—Burgess, *Notes on the Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajanta*, &c., pp. 11, 20, 51, 67, 68, 72, 73, &c.

criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (*of guilt*). In questioning an accused person, if he replies with frankness the punishment is proportioned accordingly; but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or in despite of it attempts to excuse himself, then in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used—(1) by water, (2) by force, (3) by weighing, (4) by poison.

When the ordeal is by water, then the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence (*truth*) or guilt in this way—if the man sinks and the stone floats he is guilty; but if the man floats and the stone sinks then he is pronounced innocent.

Secondly, by fire. They heat a plate of iron and make the accused sit on it, and again place his feet on it, and apply it to the palms of his hands; moreover, he is made to pass his tongue over it; if no scars result, he is innocent; if there are scars, his guilt is proved. In case of weak and timid persons who cannot endure such ordeal, they take flower-bud and cast it towards the fire; if it opens, he is innocent; if the flower is burnt, he is guilty.

Ordeal by weight is this: A man and a stone are placed in a balance evenly, then they judge according to lightness or weight. If the accused is innocent, then the man weighs down the stone, which rises in the balance; if he is guilty, the man rises and the stone falls.

Ordeal by poison is this: They take a ram and make an incision in its right thigh, then mixing all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused man, they place it in the incision made in the thigh (*of the animal*); if the man is guilty, then the poison takes effect and the creature dies; if he is innocent, then the poison has no effect, and he survives.

By these four methods of trial the way of crime is stopped.

#### 14. *Forms of Politeness*

There are nine methods of showing outward respect—(1) by selecting words of soothing character in making requests; (2) by bowing the head to show respect; (3) by raising the hands and bowing; (4) by joining the hands and bowing low; (5) by bending the knee; (6) by a prostration;<sup>29</sup> (7) by a prostration on hands and knees; (8) by touching the ground with the five circles; (9) by stretching the five parts of the body on the ground.

Of these nine methods the most respectful is to make one

<sup>29</sup> To kneel on all-fours.—Wells Williams.

prostration on the ground and then to kneel and laud the virtues of the one addressed. When at a distance it is usual to bow low;<sup>30</sup> when near, then it is customary to kiss the feet and rub the ankles (*of the person addressed*).

Whenever orders are received at the hands of a superior, the person lifts the skirts of his robes and makes a prostration. The superior or honourable person who is thus reverenced must speak gently (*to the inferior*), either touching his head or patting his back, and addressing him with good words of direction or advice to show his affection.

When a Sramana, or one who has entered on the religious life, has been thus respectfully addressed, he simply replies by expressing a good wish (*vow*).

Not only do they prostrate themselves to show reverence, but they also turn round towards the thing revered in many ways, sometimes with one turn, sometimes with three: if from some long-cherished feeling there is a call for marked reverence, then according to the desire of the person.

#### 15. Medicines, Funeral Customs, &c.

Every one who falls sick fasts for seven days. During this interval many recover, but if the sickness lasts they take medicine. The character of these medicines is different, and their names also. The doctors differ in their modes of examination and treatment.

When a person dies, those who attend the funeral raise lamentable cries and weep together. They rend their garments and loosen their hair; they strike their heads and beat their breasts. There are no regulations as to dress for mourning, nor any fixed time for observing it.

There are three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead: (1) by cremation—wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; (2) by water—the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned; (3) by desertion—the body is cast into some forest-wild, to be devoured by beasts.

When the king dies, his successor is first appointed, that he may preside at the funeral rites and fix the different points of precedence. Whilst living they give (*their rulers*) titles according to their character (*virtue*); when dead there are no posthumous titles.

In a house where there has been a death there is no eating allowed; but after the funeral they resume their usual (*habits*). There are no anniversaries (*of the death*) observed. Those who have attended a death they consider unclean; they all bathe outside the town and then enter their houses.

The old and infirm who come near to death, and those en-

<sup>30</sup> *K'i sang*, to bow to the ground.—W. W.

tangled in a severe sickness, who fear to linger to the end of their days, and through disgust wish to escape the troubles of life, or those who desire release from the trifling affairs of the world and its concerns (*the concerns of life*), these, after receiving a farewell meal at the hands of their relatives or friends, they place, amid the sounds of music, on a boat which they propel into the midst of the Ganges, where such persons drown themselves. They think thus to secure a birth among the Devas. Rarely one of these may be seen not yet dead on the borders (*of the river*).

The priests are not allowed to lament or cry for the dead ; when a father or mother of a priest dies they recite their prayers, recounting (*pledging*) their obligations to them ; reflecting on the past, they carefully attend to them now dead. They expect by this to increase the mysterious character of their religious merit.

#### 16. Civil Administration, Revenues, &c.

As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The families are not entered on registers, and the people are not subject to forced labour (*conscription*). The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts ; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings ; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state : the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability ; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated (*planted*). In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. These who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river-passages and the road-barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service ; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support.

#### 17. Plants and Trees, Agriculture, Food, Drink, Cookery

The climate and the quality of the soil being different according to situation, the produce of the land is various in its character. The

flowers and plants, the fruits and trees are of different kinds, and have distinct names : The Amala fruit (*Ngan-mi-lo*), the Amla fruit (*Ngan-mi-lo*), the Madhuka fruit (*Mo-nu-kia*), the Bhadra fruit (*po-ta-lo*), the Kapittha fruit (*kie-pi-ta*), the Amala fruit (*O-mo-lo*), the Tinduka fruit (*Chin-tu-kia*), the Udumbara fruit (*Wu-tan-po-lo*), the Mocha fruit (*Mau-che*), the Narikela fruit (*Na-li-ki-lo*), the Panasa fruit (*Panna-so*). It would be difficult to enumerate all the kinds of fruit ; we have briefly named those most esteemed by the people. As for the date (*Tsau*), the chestnut (*Lih*), the loquat (*P'i*), and the persimmon (*Thi*) they are not known. The pear (*Li*), the wild plum (*Nai*), the peach (*T'au*), the apricot (*Hang or Mui*), the grape (*Po-tau*), &c., these all have been brought from the country of Kashmir, and are found growing on every side. Pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown everywhere.

In cultivating the land, those whose duty is to sow and reap, plough and harrow (*weed*), and plant according to the season ; and after their labour they rest awhile. Among the products of the ground, rice and corn are most plentiful. With respect to edible herbs and plants, we may name ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkins, the *Heun-to* (*Kandu ?*) plant, and others. Onions and garlic are little grown ; and few persons eat them ; if any one uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town. The most usual food is milk, butter, cream, soft sugar, sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed, and all sorts of cakes made of corn are used as food. Fish, mutton, gazelle, and deer they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted ; they are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind. Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated ; they live outside the walls, and are seldom seen among men.

With respect to the different kinds of wine and liquors, there are various sorts. The juice of the grape and sugarcane, these are used by the Kshattriyas as drink ; the Vaisyas use strong fermented drinks ;<sup>31</sup> the Sramans and Brahmans drink a sort of syrup made from the grape or sugarcane, but not of the nature of fermented wine.<sup>32</sup>

The mixed classes and base-born differ in no way (*as to food or drink*) from the rest, except in respect of the vessels they use, which are very different both as to value and material. There is no lack of suitable things for household use. Although they have saucepans and stewpans, yet they do not know the steamer used for cooking rice. They have many vessels made of dried clay ; they seldom use red copper vessels : they eat from one vessel, mixing all sorts of condiments together, which they take up with their fingers. They have no spoons or cups, and in short no sort

<sup>31</sup> *Shun lo*, high-flavoured spirits.

<sup>32</sup> Called, therefore, "not-wine-body," i.e., non-alcoholic.

of chopstick. When sick, however, they use copper drinking cups.

### 18. Commercial Transactions

Gold and silver, *teou-shih* (native copper), white jade, fire pearls,<sup>33</sup> are the natural products of the country; there are besides these abundance of rare gems and various kinds of precious stones of different names, which are collected from the islands of the sea. These they exchange for other goods; and in fact they always barter in their commercial transactions, for they have no gold or silver coins, pearl shells, or little pearls.<sup>34</sup>

The boundaries of India and the neighbouring countries are herein fully described; the differences of climate and soil are briefly alluded to. Details referring to these points are grouped together, and are stated succinctly; and in referring to the different countries, the various customs and modes of administration are fully detailed.

### LAN-PO [LAMGHAN]

The kingdom of Lan-po<sup>35</sup> is about 1000 li in circuit, and on the north is backed by the Snowy Mountains; on three sides it is surrounded by the Black-ridge Mountains. The capital of the country is about 10 li in circuit. As for some centuries the royal family has been extinct, the chiefs have disputed for power among themselves, without the acknowledged superiority of any one in particular. Lately it has become tributary to Kapisa. The country is adapted for the production of rice, and there are many forests of sugar-cane. The trees, though they produce many fruits, yet few are ripened. The climate is backward; the hoar-frosts are plenty, but not much snow. In common there is abundance and contentment. The men (*people*) are given to music. Naturally they are untrustworthy and thievish; their disposition is exacting one over the other, and they never give another the preference over themselves. In respect of stature they are little, but they are active and impetuous. Their garments are made of white linen for the most part, and what they wear is well appointed. There are about ten *sangharamas*, with few followers (*priests*). The greater portion study the Great Vehicle. There are

<sup>33</sup> If *fo* is a mistake for *kiang*, as it probably is, the substance would be "amber."

<sup>34</sup> This translation differs from Julien's. The text is probably corrupt.

<sup>35</sup> Lan-po corresponds with the present Lamghan, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kabul river, bounded on the west and east by the Alingar and Kunar rivers.—Cunningham. The Sanskrit name of the district is Lampaka, and the Lampakas are said to be also called Murandas (*Mahab.*, vii. 4847; *Reinaud, Mem. s.l. Inde*, p. 353; *Lassen, Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 877, vol. iii. p. 136 f.). Ptolemy (*lib. vii. c. I*, 42) places a tribe called *Aampatai*, *Aambatai* or *Aampagai* in this district. The modern name is vulgarly pronounced Laghman. See Baber's *Memoirs*, pp. 133, 136, 140 ff.; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 43.

several scores of different Deva temples. There are few heretics. Going south-east from this country 100 li or so, we cross a great mountain (*ridge*), pass a wide river, and so come to Na-kie-lo-ho [the frontiers of North India].

### NA-KIE-LO-HO [NAGARAHARA]

The country of Nagarahara (Na-kie-lo-ho) is about 600 li from east to west, and 250 or 260 li from north to south. It is surrounded on four sides by overhanging precipices and natural barriers. The capital is 20 li or so in circuit.<sup>36</sup> It has no chief ruler; the commandant and his subordinates come from Kapisa. The country is rich in cereals, and produces a great quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is moist and warm. Their manners are simple and honest, their disposition ardent and courageous. They think lightly of wealth and love learning. They cultivate the religion of Buddha, and few believe in other doctrines. The *sangharamas* are many, but yet the priests are few; the *stupas* are desolate and ruined. There are five Deva temples, with about one hundred worshippers.<sup>37</sup>

Three li to the east of the city there is a *stupa* in height about 300 feet, which was built by Asoka Raja. It is wonderfully constructed<sup>38</sup> of stone beautifully adorned and carved. Sakya, when a Bodhisattva, here met Dipankara<sup>39</sup> Buddha (*Jen-tang-jo*),

<sup>36</sup> The situation of the town of Nagarahara (the old capital of the Jalalabad district) has been satisfactorily determined by W. Simpson (*J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. xiii. p. 183). He places the site of the town in the angle formed by the junction of the Surkhar and Kabul rivers, on their right banks. Both the direction and the distance from Lamghan (about twenty miles south-east) would place us on this spot. The mountains crossed by the pilgrim were the Siah Koh, and the river would be probably the Kabul river at Darunta. The Sanskrit name—Nagarahara—occurs in an inscription which was discovered by Major Kittoe in the ruined mound of Ghosrawa in the district of Bihar (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. xvii. pt. i. pp. 492, 494, 498 f.). The district corresponds with the *Nagara Dionuropolis* of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 43). It is called the city of Dipankara by Hwui-lih (Jul. *Vie*, p. 78), just as he calls Hidda the city of "the skull-bone" (*i. c.*) Conf. Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. iii. p. 137.

<sup>37</sup> Worshippers or "men of different religious faith." The usual term for "non-believer" in Chinese is *wai-tau*, an "outside-religion man." This term corresponds with the Pali *bahiro*, used in the same way. The Buddhists are now spoken of by the Muhammadans as *Kaffir log*, "infidel people" (Simpson, *u. s.*, p. 186.)

<sup>38</sup> The Chinese expression seems to refer to the successive layers of checkered stones peculiar to these topes. See W. Simpson's and also Swinnerton's account.—*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. viii. pp. 198 & 227 f.

<sup>39</sup> The incident referred to in the text, viz., the interview between Dipankara Buddha and the Bodhisattva Sumedha, is a popular one in Buddhist sculpture and mythology. There is a representation of it among fragments in the Lahore Museum; another representation is among the sculptures of the Kanheri caves (*Archæol. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.* vol. iv. p. 66). The legend I translated from the Chinese (*J. R. A. Soc.*, N. S., vol. vi. pp. 377 ff). Fa-hien also refers to it (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 43). See also some remarks on this legend, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. xi. p. 146; and conf. Rhys David's *Buddh. Birth-Stories*, pp. 3 f.

and spreading out his deerskin doublet, and unbinding his hair and covering with it the muddy road, received a predictive assurance. Though the passed kalpa brought the overthrow of the world, the trace of this event was not destroyed ; on religious (*fast*) days the sky rains down all sorts of flowers, which excite a religious frame of mind in the people, who also offer up religious offerings.

To the west of this place is a *Kia-lan* (*sangharama*) with a few priests. To the south is a small *stupa* : this was the place where, in old time, Bodhisattva covered the mud (with his hair). Asoka-raja built (this *stupa*) away from the road.<sup>40</sup>

Within the city is the ruined foundation of a great *stupa*. Tradition says that it once contained a tooth of Buddha, and that it was high and of great magnificence. Now it has no tooth, but only the ancient foundations remain.

By its side is a *stupa* 30 feet or so in height ; the old stories of the place know nothing of the origin of this fabric ; they say only that it fell from heaven and placed itself here. Being no work of man's art, it is clearly a spiritual prodigy.

To the south-west of the city about 10 li is a *stupa*. Here Tathagata, when living in the world, alighted, having left Mid-India and passed through the air for the sake of converting men. The people, moved by reverence, erected this building. Not far to the east is a *stupa* ; it was here Bodhisattva met Dipankara Buddha and bought the flowers.<sup>41</sup>

About 20 li to the south-west of the city we come to a small stone ridge, where there is a *sangharama* with a high hall and a storied tower made of piled-up stone. It is now silent and deserted, with no priests. In the middle is a *stupa* 200 feet or so in height, built by Asokaraja.

To the south-west of this *sangharama* a deep torrent rushes from a high point of the hill and scatters its waters in leaping cascades. The mountain sides are like walls ; on the eastern side of one is a great cavern, deep and profound, the abode of the Naga Gopala. The gate (or entrance) leading to it is narrow ; the cavern is dark ; the precipitous rock causes the water to find its way in various rivulets into this cavern. In old days there was a shadow of Buddha to be seen here, bright as

<sup>40</sup> This is a difficult passage, and is probably corrupt. The phrase "ts'u-pi," towards the end, may mean "in an out-of-the-way place." The reference is to the spot where predictive assurance was given to Sumedha that he should become a Buddha.

<sup>41</sup> He bought the flowers of a girl, who consented to sell them only on condition that she should ever hereafter be born as his wife. See the account in the "Legend of Dipankara Buddha" (J.R.A.S., N.S., vol. vi. pp. 377 ff.) The incident of the flowers remaining over the head as a "baldachin," is represented in the Lahore sculpture referred to above, note 39. See Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. L.

the true form, with all its characteristic marks.<sup>42</sup> In later days men have not seen it so much. What does appear is only a feeble likeness. But whoever prays with fervent faith, he is mysteriously endowed, and he sees it clearly before him, though not for long.

In old times, when Tathagata was in the world, this dragon was a shepherd who provided the king with milk and cream. Having on one occasion failed to do so, and having received a reprimand, he proceeded in an angry temper to the *stupa* of "the predictive assurance," and there made an offering of flowers, with the prayer that he might become a destructive dragon for the purpose of afflicting the country and destroying the king. Then ascending the rocky side of the hill, he threw himself down and was killed. Forthwith he became a great dragon and occupied this cavern, and then he purposed to go forth and accomplish his original wicked purpose. When this intention had risen within him, Tathagata, having examined what was his object, was moved with pity for the country and the people about to be destroyed by the dragon. By his spiritual power he came from Mid-India to where the dragon was. The dragon seeing Tathagata, his murderous purpose was stayed, and he accepted the precept against killing and vowed to defend the true law; he requested Tathagata to occupy this cavern evermore, that his holy disciples might ever receive his (*the dragon's*) religious offerings.<sup>43</sup>

Tathagata replied, "When I am about to die; I will leave you my shadow, and I will send five Arhats to receive from you continual offerings. When the true law is destroyed,<sup>44</sup> this service of yours shall still go on; if an evil heart rises in you, you must look at my shadow, and because of its power of love and virtue your evil purpose will be stopped. The Buddhas who will appear throughout this *Bhadra-kalpa*<sup>45</sup> will all, form a motive of pity, intrust to you their shadows as a bequest." Outside the gate of the Cavern of the Shadow there are two square stones; on one is the impression of the foot of Tathagata, with a wheel-circle (*lun-siang*) beautifully clear, which shines with a brilliant light from time to time.

On either side of the Cavern of the Shadow there are several stone chambers; in these the holy disciples of Tathagata reposed in meditation.

<sup>42</sup> See note 5, p. 74, and Book III, note 76.

<sup>43</sup> This is evidently the meaning of the passage: the request was, not that the dragon might dwell in the cavern, but that Tathagata would live there with his disciples. Fahian refers to this cave.

<sup>44</sup> The "true law" was to last 500 years; the "law of images" 1000 years.

<sup>45</sup> This period is that in which we now are, during which 100 Buddhas are to appear.

At the north-west corner of the cave of the shadow is a *stupa* where Buddha walked up and down. Beside this is a *stupa* which contains some of the hair and the nail-parings of Tathagata.

Not far from this is a *stupa* where Tathagata, making manifest the secret principles of his true doctrine, declared the *Skandha-dhatu-ayatasas* (*Yun-kiai-king*).<sup>46</sup>

At the west of the Cave of the Shadow is a vast rock, on which Tathagata in old time spread out his *kashaya*<sup>47</sup> robe after washing it; the marks of the tissue still exist.

To the south-east of the city 30 li or so is the town of Hi-lo (Hidda);<sup>48</sup> it is about 4 or 5 li in circuit; it is high in situation and strong by natural declivities. It has flowers and woods, and lakes whose waters are bright as a mirror. The people of this city are simple, honest, and upright. There is here a two-storied tower; the beams are painted and the columns coloured red. In the second storey is a little *stupa*, made of the seven precious substances: it contains the skull-bone of Tathagata; it is 1 foot 2 inches round; the hair orifices are distinct; its colour is a whitish-yellow. It is enclosed in a precious receptacle, which is placed in the middle of the *stupa*. Those who wish to make lucky or unlucky presages (*marks*) make a paste of scented earth, and impress it on the skull-bone; then, according to their merit, is the impression made.

Again there is another little *stupa*, made of the seven precious substances, which encloses the skull-bone of Tathagata.

<sup>46</sup> The symbol "chu" (*ayatana*) in this passage must be connected with the previous "yun-kiai." The *yun kiai chu* are the eighteen *dhatus*, for which see Childers' *Pali Dict.* (*sub voc.*) Vide also the *Surangama Sutra* (*Catena of Buddhist Scrip.*, p. 297 n. 2). There is no word in my text for *king*, given by Julien.

<sup>47</sup> *Kashaya* refers to the colour of the Buddhist upper robe, which was of brick-red or yellow colour (*kashaya*).

<sup>48</sup> The city of Hi-lo or Hidda (concerning which restoration, see V. de St. Martin's *Mem.*, *u.s.*, p. 304), about six miles south-east of Nagarahara, is described by Fa-hian (cap. xiii.) The *Vihara* of the skull-bone is there said to be placed within a square enclosure, and it is added, "though the heavens should quake and the earth open, this place would remain unmoved." Compare with this the remark of Hiuen Tsiang respecting Svetavaras (*sup.* p. 122) and its name of *Tetragonis*. It is curious, too, that this place (the neighbourhood of Hidda) is called Begram, and so also is Svetavaras (*i.e.*, Karsana or Tetragonis). Both Begram and Nagar appear to mean "the city." This town or Nagarahara may be the Nyssa or Nysa of Arrian (*lib. v. cap. i.*) and Curtius (*lib. viii. cap. x. 7*), in which case there would be no need to derive Dionysopolis—the Nagar of Ptolemy—from Udyanapura, although, as General Cunningham remarks (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 46), the name Ajuna, given to Nagarahara (according to Masson) might well be corrupted from Ujjana or Udyana. Compare with the text the account found in Hwui-lih (*Vie*, p. 76). Conf. *Nouv. Jour. Asiatique*, tom. vii. pp. 338f.; Masson, *Var Jour.*, vol. iii. pp. 254 ff.; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 43, 105 f.

Its shape is like a lotus leaf;<sup>49</sup> its colour is the same as that of the other, and it is also contained in a precious casket, sealed up and fastened.

Again there is another little *stupa*, made of the seven precious substances, in which is deposited the eyeball of Tathagata, large as an *Amra* fruit and bright and clear throughout; this also is deposited in a precious casket sealed up and fastened. The *Sanghati* robe of Tathagata, which is made of fine cotton stuff of a yellow-red colour,<sup>50</sup> is also enclosed in a precious box. Since many months and years have passed, it is a little damaged. The staff<sup>51</sup> of Tathagata, of which the rings are white iron (*tin?*) and the stick of sandalwood, is contained in a precious case (*a case made of a precious substance*). Lately, a king, hearing of these various articles that they formerly belonged to Tathagata as his own private property, took them away by force to his own country and placed them in his palace. After a short time,<sup>52</sup> going to look at them, they were gone; and after further inquiries he found they had returned to their original place. These five sacred objects (*relics*) often work miracles.

The king of Kapisa has commanded five pure-conduct men (*Brahmans*) to offer continually scents and flowers to these objects. These pure persons, observing the crowds who came to worship incessantly, wishing to devote themselves to quiet meditation, have established a scale of fixed charges, with a view to secure order, by means of that wealth which is so much esteemed by men. Their plan, in brief, is this:—All who wish to see the skull-bone of Tathagata have to pay one gold piece; those who wish to take an impression pay five pieces. The other objects<sup>53</sup> in their several order, have a fixed price; and yet, though the charges are heavy, the worshippers are numerous.

To the north-west of the double-storied pavilion is a *stupa*, not very high or large, but yet one which possesses many spiritual (*miraculous*) qualities. If men only touch with a finger,

<sup>49</sup> The *ho hwa* is the water-lily, but it is also a general name for mallows (Medhurst, s. v.) This bone is that of the *ushnisha* or top of the skull.

<sup>50</sup> Such seems to be the meaning. Julien has taken it as though *kiasha* referred to another garment, but it seems merely to denote the robe called *Sanghati*.

<sup>51</sup> The religious staff, *khakkharam* or *hikkala*, was so called from the noise it made when shaken. Conf. *hikk*; Ch. *sek*; *Sek cheung*, an abbot's crozier or staff (Wells Williams). It is described in the *Sha-men-yih-yung* (fol. 14a). See p. 160, *ante*.

<sup>52</sup> Scarcely had an hour elapsed.

<sup>53</sup> The phrase *tsze chu*, which is of frequent occurrence in Buddhist composition, seems to mean "moreover" or "besides this."

it shakes and trembles to the foundation, and the bells and the jingles moving together give out a pleasant sound.

Going south-east from this, crossing mountains and valleys for 500 li or so, we arrive at the kingdom of Kien-t'o-lo (Gandhara).

### KIEN-T'O-LO—GANDHARA

The kingdom of Gandhara is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. On the east it borders on the river Sin (Sindh). The capital of the country is called Po-lu-sha-pu-lo;<sup>54</sup> it is about 40 li in circuit. The royal family is extinct, and the kingdom is governed by deputies from Kapisa. The towns and villages are deserted, and there are but few inhabitants. At one corner of the royal residence<sup>55</sup> there are about 1000 families. The country is rich in cereals, and produces a variety of flowers and fruits; it abounds also in sugar-cane, from the juice of which they prepare "the solid sugar." The climate is warm and moist, and in general without ice or snow. The disposition of the people is timid and soft: they love literature; most of them belong to heretical schools; a few believe in the true law. From old time till now this border-land of India has produced many authors of *sastras*; for example, Narayanadeva,<sup>56</sup> Asanga Bodhisattva, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, Dharmatrata, Manorhita, Parsva the noble, and so on. There are about 1000 *sangharamas*, which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs,<sup>57</sup> and solitary to the

<sup>54</sup> The country of Gandhara is that of the lower Kabul valley, lying along the Kabul river between the Khoaspes (Kunar) and the Indus. It is the country of the Gandarae of Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 1, 7.) The capital was Purushapura now Peshawar. The Gandarii are mentioned by Hekataios (*Fr.* 178, 179) and Herodotos (lib. iii. c. 91, lib. vii. c. 66), and the district of Gandaritis by Strabo (*Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 1, 26). See Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 125, 131; *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v. p. 117; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 502 f., vol. ii. pp. 150, 854; *Pentapot*, pp. 15 f., 105; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 103, 106 f.; *Vishnu-pur.*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 174, vol. iii. p. 319, vol. iv. p. 118; *Mahabh.*, viii. 2055 f.; Troyer's *Raja-Tarangini*, tom. ii. pp. 316—321; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, vol. i. p. 48 n.; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. pp. 142, 238; Reinaud, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, pp. 160 f. Panini (iv. 2, 133) mentions the Gandhara in the group Kach-chhadi.

<sup>55</sup> The *Kung shing* is the fortified or walled portion of the town, in which the royal palace stood.

<sup>56</sup> There is a symbol *puh* before this name, which, as Julien has remarked, is inserted by mistake. The Chinese equivalents for the names of these writers are as follows: Na-lo-ye-n-tin (Narayanadeva), Wu-ch'o-p'u-sa (Asanga Bodhisattva), She-shin-p'u-sa (Vasubandhu Bodhisattva), Fa-kiu (Dharmatrata), Ju-i (Manorhita), Hie-tsun (Arya Parsvika). All these, the text says, were born in Gandhara.

<sup>57</sup> M. Julien has pointed out the error in the text and supplied this meaning.

last degree. The *stupas* are mostly decayed. The heretical temples, to the number of about 100, are occupied pell-mell by heretics.

Inside the royal city, towards the north-east,<sup>58</sup> is an old foundation (*or* a ruinous foundation). Formerly this was the precious tower of the *patra* of Buddha. After the *Nirvana* of Buddha, his *patra* coming to this country, was worshipped during many centuries. In traversing different countries it has come now to Persia.<sup>59</sup>

Outside the city, about 8 or 9 li to the south-east, there is a pipala tree about 100 feet or so in height. Its branches are thick and the shade beneath sombre and deep. The four past Buddhas have sat beneath this tree, and at the present time there are four sitting figures of the Buddhas to be seen here. During the Bhadrakalpa, the 996 other Buddhas will all sit here. Secret spiritual influences guard the precincts of the tree and exert a protecting virtue in its continuance. Sakyā Tathāgata sat beneath this tree with his face to the south and addressed Ananda thus:—"Four hundred years after my departure from the world, there will be a king who shall rule it called Kanishka (*Kia-ni-se-kia*); not far to the south of this spot he will raise a *stupa* which will contain many various relics of my bones and flesh."

To the south of the Pippala tree is a *stupa* built by King Kanishka: this king ascended the throne four hundred years after the *Nirvana*,<sup>60</sup> and governed the whole of Jambudvipa. He had no faith either in wrong or right (*crime or religious merit*), and he lightly esteemed the law of Buddha. One day when traversing a swampy grove (*bushy swamp*) he saw a white hare, which he followed as far as this spot, when suddenly it disappeared. He then saw a young shepherded-boy, who was building in the wood hard by a little *stupa* about three feet high. The king said, "What are you doing?" The shepherded-boy answered and said, "Formerly Sakyā Buddha, by his divine wisdom delivered this prophecy: 'There shall be a king in this victorious (*superior*) land who shall erect a *stupa*, which shall contain a great portion of my bodily relics.' The sacred merits of the great king (*Kanishka*) in former births (*suh*), with his increasing fame, have made the present occasion a proper one for the fulfilment of the old prophecy relating to the divine merit and now I am engaged for the purpose of directing you to

<sup>58</sup> Julien has *north-west*.

<sup>59</sup> For the wanderings of the *Patra* of Buddha (called in Chinese "the measure vessel," compare *graduale* and *grail*), see Fa-hian, pp. 36 f., 161 f.; Koppen, *Die Rel. des Buddha*, vol. i. p. 526; J. R. A. S., vol. xi. p. 127; also consult Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 310 f.

<sup>60</sup> See *ante*, p. 118, note 200, and *inf.* Book III note 91.

these former predictions.<sup>61</sup> Having said these words he disappeared.

The king hearing this explanation, was overjoyed. Flattering himself that he was referred to in the prophecy of the great saint, he believed with all his heart and paid reverence to the law of Buddha. Surrounding the site of the little *stupa* he built a stone *stupa*, wishing to surpass it in height, to prove the power of his religious merit. But in proportion as his *stupa* increased the other always exceeded it by three feet, and so he went on till he reached 400 feet, and the circumstance of the base was a li and a half. The storeys having reached to five, each 150 feet in height, then he succeeded in covering the other. The king, overjoyed, raised on the top of this *stupa* twenty-five circlets of gilded copper on a stuff, and he placed in the middle of the *stupa* a peck of the *Sariras* of Tathagata, and offered to them religious offerings. Scarcely had he finished his work when he saw the little *stupa* take its place at the south-east of the great foundation, and project from its side about half-way up.<sup>62</sup> The king was disturbed at this, and ordered the *stupa* to be destroyed. When they had got down to the bottom of the second storey, through which the other projected, immediately that one removed to its former place, and one more it surpassed in height the other. The king retiring said, "It is easy to commit errors in human affairs,<sup>63</sup> but when there is divine influence at work it is difficult to counteract it. When a matter is directed by spiritual power, what can human resentment effect?" Having confessed his fault, therefore, he retired.

These two *stupas* are still visible. In aggravated<sup>64</sup> sickness, if a cure is sought, people burn incense and offer flowers, and

<sup>61</sup> Or, to arouse you to a sense of your destiny (your previous forecast).

<sup>62</sup> Julien translates this differently—"he saw the little *stupa* raise itself by the side of the other and exceed it by one-half." The passage is undoubtedly a difficult one, and rendered more so by a faulty text. To understand it, we must observe that the building was a tower of five storeys, each 150 feet in height. The small *stupa* or tower was enclosed in the middle of the lower basement. Suddenly, when the large tower was finished, the smaller one changed its position, and came of the south-east angle of the great foundation—i.e., of the lowest division or storey—and pierced through the wall of the larger building about half way up. Kanishka, ill at ease in the presence of this portent, ordered the greater building to be destroyed down to the second stage. On this being done the little tower again went back to the middle of the space enclosed by the basement of the larger one, and there overtopped it as before. So I understand the passage; and if this be so, the only alteration required in the text is in the last clause, where instead of *siu*, "little," I would substitute *ta*, "great," "it came out of, i.e., towered above, the great *stupa*."

<sup>63</sup> Or, human affairs are changeable and deceptive.

<sup>64</sup> The sense of *ying* in this passage is doubtful; it may mean "complicated" or "threatening (sickness), or it may refer to complaints peculiar to children.

with a sincere faith pay their devotions. In many cases a remedy is found.

On the southern side of the steps, on the eastern face of the great *stupa*, there are engraved (or carved) two *stupas*,<sup>65</sup> one three feet high, the other five feet. They are the same shape and proportion as the great *stupa*. Again, there are two full-sized figures of Buddha, one four feet, the other six feet in height. They resemble him as he sat cross-legged beneath the *Bodhi* tree. When the full rays of the sun shine on them they appear of brilliant gold colour, and as the light decreases the hues of the stone seem to assume a reddish-blue colour. The old people say, "Several centuries ago, in a fissure of the stone foundation, there were some gold-coloured ants, the greatest about the size of the finger, the longest about a barleycorn in size. Those of the same species consorted together; by gnawing the stone steps they have left lines and marks as if engraved on the surface, and by the gold sand which they left (*as deposits*) they have caused the figures of Buddha to assume their present appearance."

On the southern side of the stone steps of the great *stupa*<sup>66</sup> there is a painted figure of Buddha about sixteen feet high. From the middle upward there are two bodies, below the middle, only one. The old tradition says: In the beginning, there was a poor man who hired himself out to get a living; having obtained a gold coin, he vowed to make a figure of Buddha. Coming to the *stupa*, he spoke to a painter and said, "I wish now to get a figure of Tathagata painted, with its beautiful points of excellence;<sup>67</sup> but I only have one gold coin; this is little enough to repay an artist. I am sorry to be hampered by poverty in carrying out my cherished aim."

Then the painter, observing his simple truth, said nothing about the price, but promised to set to work to furnish the picture.

Again there was a man, similarly circumstanced, with one

<sup>65</sup> The expression *lo c'ho* would seem to mean that the *stupas* were engraved, not built. The particular named as to steps leading up to the *stupa* is significant, as illustrating the architectural appearance and character of these buildings.

<sup>66</sup> This is the literal translation; it may mean "on the southern side of the steps," as though there were steps only on the eastern side of the *stupa*; or it may, by license, mean "on the steps of the *stupa*, its southern face," as though the steps referred to were on the southern face. But the literal translation is preferable, in which case we may assume that a flight of steps on the eastern side led up to the platform on which the tower (*stupa*) was built, and that the figures referred to were engraved between the pilasters of the terrace on the north and south sides of the steps.

<sup>67</sup> Or, "a beautifully marked figure of Tathagata." The marks (*sians* or *lakshana*) of Buddha are well known.—See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 616, and *ante*, p. 74, note 5.

gold coin, who also sought to have a picture of Buddha painted. The painter having received thus a, gold piece from each, procured some excellent colours (*blue and vermillion*) and painted a picture. Then both men came the same day to pay reverence to the picture they had had done, and the artist pointed each to the same figure, telling them, "This is the figure of Buddha which you ordered to be done." The two men looking at one another in perplexity, the mind of the artist understanding their doubts, said, "What are you thinking about so long? If you are thinking about the money, I have not defrauded you of any part. To show that it is so there must be some spiritual indication on the part of the picture." Scarcely had he finished when the picture, by some spiritual power, divided itself (*from the middle upwards*), and both parts emitted a glory alike. The two men with joy believed and exulted.

To the south-west of the great *stupa* 100 paces or so, there is a figure of Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high. It is a standing figure, and looks to the north. It has many spiritual powers, and diffuses a brilliant light. Sometimes there are people who see the image come out of an evening and go round<sup>68</sup> the great *stupa*. Lately a band of robbers wished to go in and steal. The image immediately came forth and went before the robbers. Affrighted, they ran away; the image then returned to its own place, and remained fixed as before. The robbers, affected by what they had seen, began a new life, and went about through towns and villages telling what had happened.

To the left and right of the great *stupa* are a hundred little *stupas* standing closely together,<sup>69</sup> executed with consummate art. Exquisite perfumes and different musical sounds at times are perceived, the work of Rishis, saints, and eminent sages: these also at times are seen, walking round the *stupas*.

According to the prediction of Tathagata, after this *stupa* has been seven times burnt down and seven times rebuilt, then the religion of Buddha will disappear. The record of old worthies says this building has already been destroyed and restored three times. When (*I*) first arrived in this country it had just been destroyed by a fire calamity. Steps are being taken for its restoration, but they are not yet complete.

To the west of the great *stupa* here is an old *sangharama* which was built by King Kanishka. Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (*gained distinction*). Although

<sup>68</sup> That is, circumambulate it, or perform the *pradakshina*.

<sup>69</sup> The expression means, as M. Julien explains, arranged in order like the scales of a fish, that is, with regularity.

now somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction. The priests living in it are few; they study the Little Vehicle. From the time it was built many authors of *Sastras* have lived herein and gained the supreme fruit (*of Arhatship*). Their pure fame is widespread, and their exemplary religious character still survives.

In the third tower (*double-storeyed tower*) in the chamber of the honourable Parsvika (Pi-lo-shi-po), but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet to him. He was at first a master of the Brahmins (*or a Brahman doctor*), but when eighty years of age he left his home and assumed the solid robes (*of a Buddhist disciple*). The boys of the town ridiculed him, saying, "Foolish old man! you have no wisdom, surely! Don't you know that they who become disciples of Buddha have two tasks to perform, viz., to give themselves to meditation and to recite the Scriptures? And now you are old and infirm, what progress can you make as a disciple?"<sup>70</sup> Doubtless you know how to eat (*and that is all!*)!" Then Parsvika, hearing such railing speeches, gave up the world<sup>71</sup> and made this vow, "Until I thoroughly penetrate<sup>72</sup> the wisdom of the three *Pitakas* and get rid of the evil desire of the three worlds, till I obtain the six miraculous powers<sup>73</sup> and reach the eight deliverances (*vimokshas*), I will not lie down to rest (*my side shall not touch the sleeping mat*)."<sup>74</sup> From that day forth the day was not enough for him to walk in meditation or to sit upright in deep thought. In the daytime he studied incessantly the doctrine of the sublime principles (*of Buddhism*), and at night he sat silently meditating in unbroken thought. After three years he obtained insight into the three pitakas, and shook off all wordly desires,<sup>74</sup> and obtained the threefold knowledge.<sup>75</sup> Then people called him the honourable Parsvika<sup>76</sup> and paid him reverence.

To the east of Parsvika's chamber is an old building in

<sup>70</sup> *Lit.*, in the pure streams of the high calling (*traces*).

<sup>71</sup> Withdrew from "time and men." It may be, withdrew for a time from men.

<sup>72</sup> Whilst I do not understand, &c.

<sup>73</sup> The six miraculous or spiritual powers are the *abhiijnas*, so called; for which see Eitel's *Handbook*, s. v., or Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *abhinna*. Five are enumerated in the *Lotus*, cap. v. see pp. 291, 345, 372, 379, 820; *Introd.*, p. 263. For the *vimokshas* see *Lotus*, pp. 347, 824; Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s. v. *vimokho*. See note 88, Book III, *inf.*

<sup>74</sup> Desire of the three worlds.

<sup>75</sup> The *trividyas*, the threefold knowledge, viz., of the impermanence of all things (*anitya*), of sorrow (*dukha*), and of unreality (*anatma*).

<sup>76</sup> Parsvika, Chin. Hie-ts'un, so named from *parsva* (Chin. *hie*), "the side," from his vow, here related, not to lie on his side. He is reckoned the ninth or tenth Buddhist patriarch (according as Vasumitra, the seventh, is excluded or not); Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, p. 74; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1202; Vassilief, pp. 48, 75 f. 203 f. 211; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 141.

which Vasubandhu<sup>77</sup> Bodhisattva prepared the '*O-pi-ta-mo-ku-she-lun* (*Abhidharmakosha Sastra*);<sup>78</sup> men, out of respect to him, have placed here a commemorative tablet to this effect.

To the south of Vasubandhu's house, about fifty paces or so, is a second storied-pavilion in which Manorhita,<sup>79</sup> a master of *Sastras*, composed the *Vibhasha Sastra*. This learned doctor flourished in the midst of the thousand years<sup>80</sup> after the *Nirvana* of Buddha. In his youth he was devoted to study and had distinguished talent. His fame was widespread with the religious, and laymen sought to do him hearty reverence. At that time Vikramaditya,<sup>81</sup> king of the country of Sravasti, was of wide renown. He ordered his ministers to distribute daily

<sup>77</sup> Vasubandhu (Fo-siu-fan-tho) translated Thien-sin and Shi-sin, according to northern accounts, the twenty-first patriarch of the Buddhist church, and younger brother of Asanga. But this succession of patriarchs is more than doubtful, for Budhidharma, who is represented as the twenty-eighth patriarch, arrived in China A.D. 520; but according to Max Muller, Vasubandhu flourished in India in the second half of the sixth century (*India*, p. 306). If this date can be established, many of the statements of dates found in the Chinese Buddhist books will have to be discredited (inf. Book III, n. 1). Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. ii. p. 1205; Edkins, *Ch. Buddha.*, pp. 169, 278; Vassilief, pp. 214 ff., or *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. pp. 142 f.

<sup>78</sup> This is a work frequently named in these records. It was written by Vasubandhu to refute the errors of the Vaibhashikas, and was translated into Chinese by Paramartha, A.D. 557—589. For an account of its origin see the Life of Buddha by Wong Puh, § 195, in *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 211; Edkins, *Ch. Buddha.*, p. 120; Vassilief, pp. 77 f., 108, 130, 220.

<sup>79</sup> Manorhita, otherwise written Manorata, Manorhata, or Manoratha (Jul., *Vie.* p. 405), also Manura. This is explained by the Chinese *Ju-i*, an expression used for the *Kalpavriksha* or "wishing tree," denoting power to produce whatever was wished; literally, "conformable (*hita*) to thought (*mana*, mind)." He is probably the same as Manirata (Vassilief, *Bouddhisme*, p. 219). He is reckoned the twenty-second patriarch.—Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. ii. p. 1206; Edkins, *Ch. Buddha.* pp. 82—84; M. Muller, *India*, pp. 289, 302; and note 77 *ante*.

<sup>80</sup> This expression, "in the midst of, or during, the thousand years," has a particular reference to the period of 1000 years which succeeded the period of 500 years after Buddha's death. The 500 years is called the period of the "true law," the 1000 years "the period of images," i.e., image-worship; after that came the period of "no law." The phrase "during the 1000 years," therefore, in these records, means that the person referred to lived during the middle portion of the second period, that is, about a thousand years after Buddha. There is a useful note in Wong Puh's life of Buddha (§ 204, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 215) relating to this point, from which it appears that the accepted date of the *Nirvana* in China at this time was 850 B.C. The period of 1000 years, therefore, would extend from 350 B.C. to 650 A.D. Wong Puh uses the expression *ke-shi* "the latter age," for "the thousand years." Manorhita is placed under Vikramaditya Harsha of Ujjain, and therefore lived about the middle of the 6th century A.D., according to M. Muller, *India*, p. 290.

<sup>81</sup> This is supposed to be the same as Vikramaditya or Harsha of Ujjayini, according to Fergusson and M. Muller, the founder of the usual Samvat era, 56 B.C. The Chinese equivalent for his name is *chaou jih*, or "leaping above the sun," or "the upspringing light," "the dawn." As to the mode in which this era of Vikramaditya might have been contrived, see Fergusson (*J. R. A. S.*, N. S., vol. xii. p. 273). The starting-point from which these writers suppose it came into use is 544

throughout India<sup>82</sup> five lakhs of gold coin ; he largely (*everywhere*) supplied the wants of the poor, the orphan, and the bereaved. His treasurer, fearing that the resources of the kingdom would be exhausted, represented the case to the king, and said, "Maharaja ! your fame has reached to the very lowest of your subjects, and extends to the brute creation. You bid me add (to *your expenditure*) five lakhs of gold to succour the poor throughout the world. Your treasury will thus be emptied and then fresh imposts will have to be laid (on the land cultivators), until the resources of the land be also exhausted ; then the voice of complaint will be heard and hostility be provoked. Your majesty, indeed, will get credit for charity, but your minister<sup>83</sup> will lose the respect of all." The king answered, "But of my own surplus I (*wish to*) relieve the poor. I would on no account, for my own advantage, thoughtlessly burthen (*grind down*) the country." Accordingly he added five lakhs for the good of the poor. Some time after this the king was engaged chasing a boar. Having lost the track, he gave a man a lakh for putting him on the scent again. Now Manorhita, the doctor of *Sastras*, once engaged a man to shave his head, and gave him offhand a lakh of gold for so doing.<sup>84</sup> This munificent act was recorded in the annals by the chief historian. The king reading of it, was filled with shame, and his proud heart continually fretted about it,<sup>85</sup> and so he desired to bring some fault against Manorhita and punish him. So he summoned an assembly of different religious persons whose talents were most noted,<sup>86</sup> to the number of one hundred, and issued the following decree : "I wish to put a check to the various opinions (*wanderings*) and to settle the true limits (*of inquiry*) ; the opinions of different religious

A.D. The expression Vikramaditya of Sravasti, is the same as Vikramaditya of Ayodhya (Oudh), where we are told (Vassilief, p. 219) he held his court. The town of Sravasti was in ruins even in Fa-hian's time (cap. xx).

<sup>82</sup> "Throughout all the Indies." This passage may also be translated thus : "An envoy (*shi shan*) coming to India, he daily," &c. Julien refers it to one of his own envoys, but in any case the passage is obscure. Judging from the context, I think the meaning is, "he ordered his minister, in the next sentence called "his treasurer," to give throughout India on one day five lakhs for the poor."

<sup>83</sup> Such is plainly the meaning ; the treasurer is speaking of himself. The antithesis requires it, "*kun shang, shan hia.*" M. Julien translates it as referring to all the subjects.

<sup>84</sup> M. Julien translates as follows : "Un jour le maitre des *Castras* Jou-i (Manorhita) ayant envoye un homme pour couper les cheveux au roi," but in my text there is no word for "king," and the whole context seems to require another rendering. I translate the passage as referring to Manorhita himself, who, although a writer of *Sastras*, was also a prince (vid. Eitel, s. v.).

<sup>85</sup> *I.e.*, that Manorhita should have equalled him in munificence, and that he should be held up as an example.

<sup>86</sup> "Whose virtuous deed (*good qualities*) were high and profound." I find nothing about Brahmans in the text.

sects are so various that the mind knows not what to believe. Exert your utmost ability, therefore, to-day in following out my directions." "On meeting for discussion he made a second decree: "The doctors of law belonging to the heretics<sup>87</sup> are distinguished for their ability. The Shamans and the followers of the law (of Buddha) ought to look well to the principles of their sect; if they prevail, then they will bring reverence to the law of Buddha; but if they fail, then they shall be exterminated."<sup>88</sup> On this, Manorhita questioned the heretics and silenced<sup>89</sup> ninety-nine of them. And now a man was placed (*sat on the mat to dispute with him*) of no ability whatever,<sup>90</sup> and for the sake of a trifling discussion (Manorhita) proposed the subject of fire and smoke. On this the king and the heretics cried out, saying, "Manorhita, the doctor of *Sastras*, has lost the sense of right connection (*mistaken the order or sense of the phrase*); he should have named smoke first and fire afterwards: this order of things is constant." Manorhita wishing to explain the difficulty, was not allowed a hearing; on which, ashamed to see himself thus treated by the people, he bit out his tongue and wrote a warning to his disciple Vasubandhu, saying, "In the multitude of partisans there is no justice; among persons deceived there is no discernment." Having written this, he died.

A little afterwards Vikramaditya-raja lost his kingdom and was succeeded by a monarch who widely patronised those distinguished for literary merit.<sup>91</sup> Vasubandhu, wishing to wash out the former disgrace, came to the king and said, "Maharaja, by your sacred qualities you rule the empire and govern with wisdom. My old master, Manorhita, was deeply versed in the mysterious doctrine. The former king, from an old resentment, deprived him of his high renown. I now wish to avenge the injury done to my master." The king, knowing that Manorhita was a man of superior intelligence, approved of the noble project of Vasubandhu; he summoned the heretics who had discussed with Manorhita. Vasubandhu having exhibited afresh the former conculsion of his master, the heretics were abashed and retired.

To the north-east of the *sangharama* of Kanishka-raja about 50 li, we cross a great river and arrive at the town of Pushkalavati (Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti).<sup>92</sup> It is about 14 or 15 li in

<sup>87</sup> Or it may be, "the unbelievers and the doctors of *sastras* are both eminent," &c.

<sup>88</sup> It ought probably to be rendered thus: "If they prevail, then I will reverence the law of Buddha; if they are defeated, I will utterly exterminate the priests."

<sup>89</sup> Made to retire.

<sup>90</sup> Or, who looked at him with a dispirited (*downcast*) air.

<sup>91</sup> This would appear to be Siladitya of Ujjain, spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang (Book xi.) as having lived about sixty years before his own time.

<sup>92</sup> Or Pushkaravati, the old capital of Gandhara, said to have been

circuit; the population is large; the inner gates are connected by a hollow (*tunnel?*).<sup>93</sup>

Outside the western gate is a Deva temple. The image of the god is imposing and works constant miracles.

To the east of the city is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. This is the place where the four former Buddhas delivered the law (*preached*). Among former saints and sages many have come (*descended spiritually*) from Mid-India to this place to instruct all creatures (*things*). For example, Vasumitra,<sup>94</sup> doctor of *Sastras*, who composed the *Chung-sse-fen-o-pi-ta-mo* (*Abhidharma-prakarana-pada*) *Sastra* in this place.

To the north of the town 4 or 5 li is an old *sangharama*, of which the halls are deserted and cold. There are very few priests in it, and all of them follow the teaching of the Little Vehicle. Dharmatrata, master of *Sastras*, here composed the *Ts'a-o-pi-ta-ma-lun* (*Samyuktabhidharma Sastra*).<sup>95</sup>

founded by Pushkara or Pushkala, the son of Bharata and nephew of Rama (Wilson, *Vishnu-pur.*, vol. iii. p. 319). The district is called *Pankelasis* and *Penke'lantis* by Arrian (*Anab.*, lib. iv. c. 22, s. 9; *Ind.*, c. 4, s. 11), and the capital *Penkelaitis* or *Penkela* (*Ind.*, c. 1, s. 8), while Strabo calls the city *Penkelaits* (lib. xv. c. 21 s. 27). Pliny has *Peucolais* (lib. vi. c. 21, s. 62) and the people *Peucolaitae* (c. 23, s. 78). Dionysius Perigetis has *Penkalais* (v. 1143), and the author of the *Periplus Mar. Æryth* (s. 47) and Ptolemy *Proklais* (lib. vii. c. 1, s. 44; v. 1. *Poklais*) Alexander the Great besieged and took it from Astes (Hasti) and appointed Sangæus (Sanjaya) as his successor. It was probably at Hashtanagara, 18 miles north of Peshawar, on the Svat (Suastos), near its junction with the Kabul (Kophen or Kophes), the great river which the traveller here crossed. See Baber's *Mem.*, pp. 136, 141, 251; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 49 f.; St. Martin, *Geog. de l' Inde*, p. 37; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. p. 498; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 185 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. pp. 85 f., 330; Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 501, vol. iii. p. 139; Reinaud, *Mem. s. l' Inde*, p. 65.

<sup>93</sup> The phrase *leu yen* means the inner gates of a town or village (Medhurst, s. v. *Yen*), and *tung lin* means "deeply connected," or "are deep and connected." Julien translates it, "the houses rise in thick lines." The readings must be different.

<sup>94</sup> Vasumitra, in Chinese *Shi Yu*, friend of the world.—*Ch. Ed.* He was one of the chief of the 500 great Arhats who formed the council convoked by Kanishka. Vassilief, pp. 49 f., 58 f., 78, 107, 113, 222 f.; Edkins, *Ch. Buddh.*, pp. 72f., 283; Burnouf, *Int.*, pp. 399, 505 f.

<sup>95</sup> According to the *Ch'u-h-yau king* (*Udanavarga*), Dharmatrata was uncle of Vasumitra. (See Beal, *Texts from the Buddhist Canon* (*Dharma-pada*) p. 8; Rockhill's (*Udanavarga*, p. xi). There was another Dharmatrata, according to Taranatha (Rockhill, p. xi.), who was one of the leaders of the Vaibhashika school, and also another Vasumitra, who commented on the *Abhidharma Kosha* written by Vasubandhu, who lived probably in the fifth century A.D. But as the Chinese versions of the *Dharmapada* were made before Vasubandhu's time, and the second Vasumitra lived after Vasubandhu, for he commented on his work, it is highly probable that the Dharmatrata alluded to in the text was the compiler of the Northern versions of the "Verses of the Law" (*Dharma-pada*) known both in China and Tibet. Dharmatrata, according to a note in the text, was erroneously called Dharmatara.

By the side of the *sangharama* is a *stupa* several hundred feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. It is made of carved wood and veined stone, the work of various artists. Saky Buddha, in old time when king of this country, prepared himself as a Bodhisattva (*for becoming a Buddha*). He gave up all he had at the request of those who asked, and spared not to sacrifice his own body as a bequeathed gift (*a testamentary gift*). Having been born in this country a thousand times as king, he gave during each of those thousand births in this excellent country, his eyes as an offering.

Going not far from this, there are two stone *stupas*, each about 100 feet in height. The right-hand one was built by Brahma Deva, that on the left by Sakra (*king of Devas*). They were both adorned with jewels and gems. After Buddha's death these jewels changed themselves into ordinary stones. Although the buildings are in a ruinous condition, still they are of a considerable height and grandeur.

Going north-west about 50 li from these *stupas*, there is another *stupa*. Here Saky Tathagata converted the Mother of the demons<sup>96</sup> and caused her to refrain from hurting men. It is for this reason the common folk of this country offer sacrifices to obtain children from her.

Going north 50 li or so from this, there is another *stupa*. It was here Samaka Bodhisattva<sup>97</sup> (*Shang-mu-kia*). walking

<sup>96</sup> The mother of the demons was, according to I-tsing (K. i. § 9). called Hariti (Ko-li-ti), and was venerated by the Buddhists. "She had made a vow in a former birth to devour the children of Rajagriha, and was accordingly born as a Yaksha, and became the mother of 500 children. To nourish these she each day took a child (boy or girl) of Rajagriha. People having told Buddha of it, he hid one of the Yaksha's children called "the loved one." The mother, having searched everywhere, at last found it by Buddha's side. On this the Lord addressed her as follows : "Do you so tenderly love your child ? but you possess 500 such. How much more would persons with only one or two love theirs ?" On this she was converted and became a Upasika, or lay disciple. She then inquired how she was to feed her 500 children. On this Buddha said, "The Bhikshus who live in their monasteries shall every day offer you food out of their portion for nourishment." Therefore in the convents of the western world, either within the porch of the gates or by the side of the kitchen, they paint on the wall a figure of the mother holding a child, and below sometimes five, sometimes three others in the foreground. Every day they place before this image a dish of food for her portion of nourishment. She is the most powerful among the followers (*retinue*) of the four heavenly kings (Deva-rajas). The sick and those without children offer her food to obtain their wishes. In China she is called Kwei-tseu-mu.—Julien, *Memoires*, tom. i. p. 120 n. My translation of I-tsing, however, differs from Julien's. The Chalukyas and other royal families of the Dekhan claim to be descendants of Hariti (*Haritiputra*). The above account from I-tsing relates to the figure of Hariti in the Varaha temple at Tamralipti. Possibly this temple may have been a Chalukya foundation, for the Varaha (boar) was one of their principal insignia.

<sup>97</sup> This refers to Sama, the son of Dukhula, in the *Samajataka*. He

piously, nourished as a boy his blind father and mother. One day when gathering fruits for them, he encountered the king as he was hunting, who wounded him by mistake with a poisoned arrow. By means of the spiritual power of his great faith he was restored to health through some medicaments which Indra (*Tien-ti*), moved by his holy conduct, applied to the wound.

To the south-east of this place<sup>98</sup> about 200 li, we arrive at the town Po-lu-sha.<sup>99</sup> On the north of this town is a *stupa*; here it was Sudhana<sup>100</sup> the prince, having given in charity to some Brahmins the great elephant of his father the king, was blamed and banished. In leaving his friends, having gone out of the gate of the wall, it was here he bid adieu. Beside this is a *sangharama*<sup>101</sup> with about fifty priests or so, who all study the Little Vehicle. Formerly Isvara, master of *sastras*, in this place composed the *O-pi-ta-mo-ming-ching-lun*.<sup>102</sup>

Outside the eastern gate of the town of Po-lu-sha is a *sangharama* with about fifty priests, who all study the Great

is called in Fa-hian *Shen* (for *Shen-ma*), and this equivalent is also given in the text. See *Trans. Int. Cong. Orient.* (1874), p. 135. The *Jataka* is represented among the Sanchi sculptures (*Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. xxxvi, fig. 1). For an account of it see Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 275; conf. *Man. Budh.*, p. 460. The story is also a Brahmanical one, occurring in the *Ramayana*.—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. pp. 37—39.

<sup>98</sup> That is, south-east from the *stupa* of Samaka Bodhisattva. I have not repeated the name of the place in this and other passages.

<sup>99</sup> Following the route described in the text, we are taken first 4 or 5 li to the north of Pushkalavati, next a little way to the east, then 50 li to the north-west, then 50 li to the north. It is from this point we are to reckon 200 li to the south-west to Po-lu-sha. M. V. de St. Martin (*Memoire*, p. 309) substitutes 250 li for 200, and he then reckons from Pushkalavati. General Cunningham falls into the same mistake (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 52), and identifies Po-lu-sha with Palodheri, or the village of Pali, situated on a *dheri* or mound of ruins (*op. cit.*, p. 52). This would agree with Hiuen Tsiang's distance and bearing, that is, from the *stupa* of Samaka, which was some 90 to 100 li to the north-north-east of Pushkalavati.

<sup>100</sup> That is, Visvāntara, Visvantara or Vessantara, the prince. His history is a popular one among Buddhists. See Spence Hardy's *Man. of Budhism.*, p. 118; Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Worship*, pl. xxxii.; Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 194 n. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 411; conf. *Kathasarit.*, 113, 9; *Aitar. Brahm.*, vii. 27, 34. The particulars given in the text and in Fa-hian led to the identification of pl. xxxii. in *Tree and Serp. Worship* with this history. The same *Jataka* is also found amongst the Amaravati sculptures, *op. cit.*, pl. lxv, fig. 1. With respect to the name Sudana, the Chinese explanation (*good teeth*) is erroneous, as M. Julien has pointed out (p. 122 n.) Sudanta is the name of a Pratyekabuddha mentioned in the *Trikandasesha*, i. 1, 13.

<sup>101</sup> So I translate the passage. M. Julien understands the number fifty to refer to the *sangharamas*. But it would be an unusual circumstance to find fifty or more convents near one spot, nor does the text necessarily require it.

<sup>102</sup> Restored doubtfully by Julien to *Abhidharma-prakasa-sadhanā Sastra*. It was perhaps the *Samyukta-abhidharma-hridaya Sastra*, which Isvara is said to have translated in 426 A.D. Isvara's name is given in Chinese as *Tsu-tsai*, "master," "lord," "self-existent."

Vehicle. Here is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. In old times Sudana the prince, having been banished from his home, dwelt in Mount Dantaloka.<sup>103</sup> Here a Brahman begged his son and daughter, and he sold them to him.

To the north-east of Po-lu-sha city about 20 li or so we come to Mount Dantaloka. Above a ridge of that mountain is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja; it was here the prince Sudana dwelt in solitude. By the side of this place, and close by, is a stupa. It was here the prince gave his son and daughter to the Brahman, who, on his part, beat them till the blood flowed out on the ground. At the present time the shrubs and trees are all of a deep red colour. Between the crags (*of the mountain*) there is a stone chamber, where the prince and his wife dwelt and practised meditation. In the midst of the valley the trees droop down their branches like curtains. Here it was the prince in old time wandered forth and rested.

By the side of this wood, and not far from it, is a rocky cell in which an old Rishi dwelt.

Going north-west from the stone cell about 100 li or so, we cross a small hill and come to a large mountain. To the south of the mountain is a *sangharama*, with a few priests as occupants, who study the Great Vehicle. By the side of it is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. This is the place which in old time was occupied by Ekasringa Rishi.<sup>104</sup> This Rishi being deceived by a pleasure-woman, lost his spiritual faculties. The woman, mounting his shoulders, returned to the city.

To the north-east of the city of Po-lu-sha 50 li or so, we come to a high mountain, in which is a figure of the wife of Isvara Deva carved out of green (*bluish*) stone. This is Bhima Devi.<sup>105</sup> All the people of the better class, and the lower orders too, declare that this figure was selfwrought. It has the reputation of working numerous miracles, and therefore is venerated (*worshipped*) by all, so that from every part of India men come to pay their vows and seek prosperity thereby. Both poor and rich assemble here from every part, near and distant. Those who wish to see the form of the divine spirit, being filled with faith and free from doubt, after fastning seven days are privileged to behold it, and obtain for the most part their prayers.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Tan-ta-lo-kia*, which might also be restored to Dandarika. The Japanese equivalent given in the text for *lo* is *ra*. General Cunningham identifies this mountain with the *Montes Dædali* of Justin (*op. cit.*, p. 52).

<sup>104</sup> This story of Ekasringa seems to be connected with the episode of Stringa in the *Ramayana*. It is constantly referred to in Buddhist books. See Eitel's *Handbook*, s. v.; *Catena of Buddh. Scrip.*, p. 260; *Romantic Legend*, p. 124; and compare the notice in Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 233; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 244, vol. ii. pp. 69, 140 f.

<sup>105</sup> Bhima is a form of Durga, probably=Si-wang-mu of the Chinese.

<sup>106</sup> The same thing is said about Kwan-yin (Avalokitesvara). For

Below the mountain is the temple of Mahesvara Deva; the heretics who cover themselves with ashes<sup>107</sup> come here to offer sacrifice.

Going south-east from the temple of Bhima 150 li, we come to U-to-kia-han-ch'a.<sup>108</sup> This town is about 20 li in circuit; on the south it borders on the river Sindh (Sin-to). The inhabitants are rich and prosperous. Here is amassed a supply of valuable merchandise, and mixed goods from all quarters.

To the north-west of U-to-kia-han-c'ha 20 li or so we come to the town of P'o-lo-tu-lo.<sup>109</sup> This is the place where the Rishi Panini, who composed the *Chingming-lun*<sup>110</sup> was born.

Referring to the most ancient times, letters were very numerous; but when, in the process of ages, the world was destroyed and remained as a void, the Devas of long life<sup>111</sup> descended spiritually to guide the people. Such was the origin of the ancient<sup>112</sup> letters and composition. From this time and after it the source (*of language*) spread and passed its (*former*) bounds. Brahma Deva and Sakra (*Devendra*) established rules (*forms or examples*) according to the requirements. Rishis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters. Men in their successive generations put into use what had been delivered to them; but nevertheless students without ability (*religious ability*) were unable to make use (*of these characters*). And now men's lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years, when the Rishi Panini was born; he was from his birth extensively informed about things (*men and things*). The times being dull and careless, he wished to reform the vague and false rules (*of writing and speaking*)—to fix the rules and correct

some account of the worship of Durga or Parvati, and of Kwan-yin or Avalokitesvara, as mountain deities, see *J. R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. xv. p. 333.

<sup>107</sup> That is, the Pasupatas. Compare what Hiuen Tsiang says in reference to Kwan-yin or Avalokitesvara, viz., when he reveals himself on Mount Potaraka, he sometimes takes the form of Isvara and sometimes that of a Pasupata (book x. fol. 30). See also p. 121, n. 210 *ante*.

<sup>108</sup> Restored by Julien to Udakhanda; identified by V. St. Martin with Ohind. Its south side rests on the Indus. The distance is 150 li from the temple of Bhima. If we actually project 150 li (30 miles) north-west from Ohind, it would bring us near Jamalgarhi. About 50 li or 8 miles E.S.E. from it is Takht-i-Bhai, standing on an isolated hill 650 feet above the plain. The vast quantities of ruins found in this place indicate that it was once a centre of religious worship. Is this the site of Po-lu-sha? Kapurdagarhi is 20 miles north-west from Ohind, and Takhti-i-Bhai 13 miles E.N.E. from Kapurdagarhi.

<sup>109</sup> The symbol *p'o* is for *so* (*Jul.*) The town is Salatura, the birth-place of Panini, who is known by the name of Salaturiya (Panini, iv. 3, 94). Cunningham identifies it with the village of Lahore, which he says is four miles north-west of Ohind.—*Geog.*, p. 57. Conf. Weber, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 218, n.

<sup>110</sup> The *Vyakaranam*.

<sup>111</sup> Or, the Devas who possessed long life.

<sup>112</sup> I understand the symbol *ku* in this passage to mean "old" or "ancient."

improprieties. As he wandered about asking for right ways,<sup>113</sup> he encountered Isvara Deva, and recounted to him the plan of his undertaking. Isvara Deva said, "Wonderful! I will assist you in this." The Rishi, having received instruction, retired. He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power or mind. He collected a multitude of words, and made a book on letters which contained a thousand *slokas*; each *sloka* was of thirty-two syllables. It contained everything known from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words. He then closed it and sent it to the King (*supreme ruer*), who exceedingly prized it, and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others; and he added that whoever should learn it from beginning to end should receive as his reward a thousand pieces of gold. And so from that time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world. Hence the Brahmans of this town are of high renown for their talents, well informed as to things (*men and things*), and of a vigorous understanding (*memory*).

In the town of So-lo-tu-lo is a *stupa*. This is the spot where an Arhat converted a disciple of Panini. Tathagata had left the world some five hundred years, when there was a great Arhat who came to the country of Kashmir, and went about converting men. Coming to this place, he saw a Brahmacarin occupied in chastising a boy whom he was instructing in letters. Then the Arhat spoke to the Brahman thus : "Why do you cause pain to this child?" The Brahman replied, "I am teaching him the *Shing-ming* (*Sabdaividya*), but he makes no proper progress." The Arhat smiled significantly,<sup>114</sup> on which the Brahman said, "Shamans are of a pitiful and loving disposition, and well disposed to men and creatures generally; why did you smile, honoured sir? Pray let me know!"

The Arhats replied, "Light words are not becoming,<sup>115</sup> and I fear to cause in you incredulous thoughts and unbelief. No doubt you have heard of the Rishi Panini, who complied the *Sabdaividya Sastra*, which he has left for the instruction of the world." The Brahman replied, "The children of this town, who are his disciples, revere his eminent qualities, and a statue erected to his memory still exists." The Arhat continued : "This

<sup>113</sup> Or, asking for wisdom or knowledge.

<sup>114</sup> The symbol *yew*, according to Medhurst, means "to put forth vital energy;" *yew ne*, therefore, I take to denote "significance" or "meaning." The smile of Buddha or an Arhat was supposed to indicate prophetic insight or vision. The same meaning is attached to "a smile" in many of our own mediæval legends (vid. *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 12 n.) Julien's "*se derida*" hardly meets the idea of the original.

<sup>115</sup> "Light words," in the sense of trifling or unmeaning words, or words spoken lightly.

little boy whom you are instructing was that very (*Panini*) Rishi. As he devoted his vigorous mind to investigate worldly literature, he only produced heretical treatises without any power of true reason in them. His spirit and his wisdom were disperse, and he has run through the cycles of continued birth from then till now. Thanks to some remnant of true virtue, he has been now born as your attached child; but the literature of the world and these treatises on letters are only cause of useless efforts to him, and are as nothing compared to the holy teaching of Tathagata, which, by its mysterious influences, procures both happiness and wisdom. On the shores of the southern sea there was an old decayed tree, in the hollows of which five hundred bats had taken up their abodes. Once some merchants took their seats beneath this tree, and as a cold wind was blowing, these men, cold and hungry, gathered together a heap of fuel and lit a fire at the tree-foot. The flames catching hold of the tree, by degrees it was burnt down. At this time amongst the merchant troop there was one who, after the turn of the night, began to recite a portion of the *Abhidharma Pitaka*. The bats, notwithstanding the flames, because of the beauty of the sound of the law patiently endured the pain, and did not come forth. After this they died, and, according to their works, they all received birth as men. They became ascetics, practised wisdom, and by the power of the sounds of the law they had heard they grew in wisdom and became Arhats as the result of merit acquired in the world. Lately the king, Kanishka, with the honourable Parsvika, summoning a council of five hundred saints and sages in the country of Kashmir, they drew up the *Vibasha Sastra*. These were the five hundred bats who formerly dwelt in that decayed tree. I myself, though of poor ability, am one of the number. It is thus men differ in their superior or inferior abilities. Some rise, others live in obscurity. But now, O virtuous one! permit your pupil (*attached child*) to leave his home. Becoming a disciple of Buddha, the merits we secure are not to be told."

The Arhats having spoken thus, proved his spiritual capabilities by instantly disappearing. The Brahman was deeply affected by what he saw, and moved to believe. He noised abroad through the town and neighbourhood what had happened, and permitted the child to become a disciple of Buddha and acquire wisdom. Moreover, he himself changed his belief, and mightily reverenced the three precious ones. The people of the village, following his example, became disciples, and till now they have remained earnest in their profession.

From U-to-kia-han-ch'a, going north, we pass over some mountains, cross a river, and travelling 600 li or so we arrive at the kingdom of U-chang-na (Udayan).

## BOOK III

*Relates to eight countries, viz., (1) U-chang-na, (2) Po-lu-lo, (3) Ta-ch'a-shi-lo, (4) Sang-ho-pu-lo, (5) Wu-la-shi, (6) Kia-shi-mi-lo, (7) Pun-nu-tso, (8) Ko-lo-chi-pu-lo.*

### U-CHANG-NA (UDYANA).

The country of U-chang-na<sup>1</sup> is about 5000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys are continuously connected, and the valleys and marshes alternate with a succession of high plateaux. Though various kinds of grain are sown, yet the crops are not rich. The grape is abundant, the sugar-cane scarce. The earth produces gold and iron, and is favourable to the cultivation of the scented (*shrub*) called Yo-kin (*turmeric*). The forests are thick and shady, the fruits and flowers abundant. The cold and heat are agreeably tempered, the wind and rain come in their

<sup>1</sup> Udyana (Prakrit, Ujjana), the *U-chang* of Fa-hian (cap. viii), is so called because of its garden-like appearance. "Udyana lay to the north of Peshawar on the Swat river, but from the extent assigned to it by Hiuen Tsiang the name probably covered the whole hill-region south of the Hindu Kush and the Dard country from Chitral to the Indus."—Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 173; compare also Cunningham's remarks, *Geog. Anc. Ind.*, p. 81; Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i, p. 505, vol. iii, p. 138; and *Bactrian Coins*, (Eng. trans.) p. 96. It is described by Sung-yun as bordering on the T'sung-ling mountains to the north, and on India to the south. This writer gives a glowing description of the fertility and beauty of the valley and its neighbourhood (Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 189). It was a flourishing centre of Buddhist worship. Fa-hian (cap. viii) says "the law of Buddha is universally honoured." He tells us, moreover, that there were five hundred *sangharamas* in the country, all belonging to the Little Vehicle; but in Hieun Tsiang's time all the convents were desolate and ruined. We may therefore fix the persecution of Mahirakula (or Mihirakula), who was a contemporary of Baladitya, between the time of Fa-hian and Hieun Tsiang (A.D. 400 and 630 A.D.) Baladitya and Mahirakula, indeed, are placed "several centuries before the time of Hiuen Tsiang" (*infra*); but we can scarcely suppose that Fa-hian would have described the country as he does if the persecution had happened before his time. The common statement is that Simha was the last patriarch of the North, and that he was killed by Mahirakula (see *Wong Pu*, § 179, in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx, p. 204). He is generally stated to be the 23d patriarch, and Bodhidharma, who was the 28th, certainly lived in A.D. 520, when he arrived in China from South India. If we allow an interval of 100 years between the 23rd patriarch (Simha) and the 28th (Bodhidharma), we should thus have the date of Mahirakula *cir.* 420 A.D., that is, just after Fahian's time. But in this case Vasubandhu, who was the 20th patriarch, must have flourished in the fourth century and not in the sixth, as Max Muller proposes (*India*, p. 290); *ante*, p. 156, n. 77. Mahirakula is, however, placed by Cunningham in A.D. 164—179, and Arya Simha's death is usually placed in the middle of the third century A.D. Remusat, *Mel. Asiat.*, tome i, p. 124.

season. The people are soft and effeminate, and in disposition are somewhat sly and crafty. They love learning yet have no application. They practise the art of using charms (*religious sentences as charms*).<sup>2</sup> Their clothing is white cotton, and they wear little else. Their language, though different in some points, yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before. They greatly reverence the law of Buddha and are believers in the Great Vehicle.<sup>3</sup>

On both sides of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu,<sup>4</sup> there are some 1400 old *sangharamas*. They are now generally waste and desolate; formerly there were some 18,000 priests in them, but gradually they have become less, till now there are very few. They study the Great Vehicle; they practise the duty of quiet meditation, and have pleasure in reciting texts relating to this subject, but have no great understanding as to them. The (priests who) practise the rules of morality lead a pure life and purposely prohibit the use of charms.<sup>5</sup> The schools<sup>6</sup> of the *Vinaya* traditionally known amongst them are the Sarvastivadins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahisasakas, the Kasyapiyas,<sup>7</sup> and the Mahasanghikas: these five.<sup>8</sup>

There are about ten temples of Devas, and a mixed number of unbelievers who dwell in them. There are four or five strong towns. The kings mostly reign at Mungali (Mung-kie-li)<sup>9</sup> as

<sup>2</sup> The employment of magical sentences is with them an art and a study, or a work of art. This country of Udyana was the birthplace of Padma Sambhava, a great master of enchantments. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Fa-hian says that in his days the people of this country were all followers of the Little Vehicle. Probably the re-introduction of Buddhist doctrine after the persecution had been effected by teachers of the Mahayana school.

<sup>4</sup> That is, the Subhavastu, the Swat river of the present day. It is named by Arrian the *Soastos* and he says that it flows into the *Kophen* at Peukalaitis. See note 24 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> This translation differs from Julien's, but I understand Hiuen Tsiang to be alluding to the Hinayanists. "Those who follow the rules" (viz., of the *Vinaya*).

<sup>6</sup> The rules of the *Vinaya* are handed down and followed; they have (or, there are) five schools." The purport of the text is apparently to show that there was a traditional knowledge of the old teaching to which Fa-hian refers. The new school, given to magic, had been introduced after the persecution; the old teaching was opposed to this, and the followers of that teaching resisted its use.

<sup>7</sup> Called in the text *Yin-kwongpu*, "the drink-brightness school." See Eitel's *Handbook*, s. v. *Mahakasyapa*.

<sup>8</sup> These five schools belong to the Little Vehicle—(1) The Dharmagupta (Fa-mih-pu), (2) Mahisasaka (Fa-ti-pu), (3) Kasyapiya (Yin-kwong-pu), (4) Sarvastivada (Shwo-yih-tsai-yeou-pu), (5) Mahasanghika (Ta-chong-pu).

<sup>9</sup> Mungali or Mangala, probably the Mangora of Wilford's surveyor, Mogol Beg, and the Mangavor of General Court's map (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 82). According to V. de St. Martin (*Mem.*, p. 314),

their capital. This town is about 16 or 17 li in circuit and thickly populated. Four or five li to the east of Mungali is a great *stupa*, where very many spiritual portents are seen. This is the spot where Buddha, when he lived in old time,<sup>10</sup> was the Rishi who practised patience (Kshanti-rishi), and for the sake of Kaliraja endured the dismemberment of his body.

To the north-east of the town of Mungali about 250 or 260 li, we enter a great mountain<sup>11</sup> and arrive at the fountain of the Naga Apalala; this is the source of the river Su-po-fa-su-tu. This river flows to the south-west.<sup>12</sup> Both in summer and spring it freezes, and from morning till night snow-drifts are flying in clouds, the fine reflected colours of which are seen on every side.

This Naga, in the time of Kasyapa Buddha, was born as a man and was called King-ki (Gangi). He was able, by the subtle influences of the charms he used, to restrain and withstand the power of the wicked dragons, so that they could not (*afflict the country*) with violent storms of rain. Thanks to him, the people were thus able to gather in an abundance of grain. Each family then agreed to offer him, in token of their gratitude, a peck of grain as a yearly tribute. After a lapse of some years there were some who omitted to bring their offerings, on which Gangi in wrath prayed that he might become a poisonous dragon and afflict them with storms of rain and wind to the destruction of their crops. At the end of his life he became the dragon of this country; the flowings of the fountain emitted a white stream which destroyed all the products of the earth.

At this time, Sakya Tathagata, of his great pity guiding the world, was moved with compassion for the people of this country, who were so singularly afflicted with this calamity. Descending therefore spiritually,<sup>13</sup> he came to this place,

it should be Mangalavor (Mangala-pura). It was on the left bank of the Swat river. See J. A. S. Ben., vol. viii. pp. 311 f.; Lassen, I. A., vol. i. p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., as a Bodhisattva. The history of the Bodhisattva when he was born at Kshantirishi is frequently met with in Chinese Buddhist books. The account will be found in Wong Puh, § 76 (J. R. A. S., vol. xx. p. 165). The name Kie-li (Kali) is interpreted in the original by "fight-quarrel." The lacuna which occurs in the text was probably the history of this Jin-jo-sien (Kshantirishi), whom suffered his hands to be cut off by Kaliraja, and not only was not angry, but promised the king that he should be born as Kondinya and become one of his (Buddha's) first disciples (Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 198).

<sup>11</sup> "Enter a great mountain," i.e., a mountainous range. There is no mention made of "traversing a valley," as in Julien.

<sup>12</sup> It may also be translated, "it branches off and flows to the south-west." The river is the Subhavastu. See below, note 24, p. 171.

<sup>13</sup> The expression *kiang shin*, to descend spiritually, is of frequent occurrence in Chinese Buddhist books; it corresponds to the Sanskrit *avatara* or *avatarin*, to make an appearance.

desiring to convert the violent dragon. Taking the mace of the Vajrapani<sup>14</sup> spirit, he beat against the mountain side. The dragon king, terrified, came forth and paid him reverence. Hearing the preaching of the law by Buddha, his heart became pure and his faith was awakened. Tathagata forthwith forbade him to injure the corps of the husbandmen. Whereupon the dragon said, "All my sustenance comes from the fields of men : but now, grateful for the sacred instructions I have received, I fear it will be difficult to support myself in this way : yet pray let me have one gathering in every twelve years." Tathagata compassionately permitted this. Therefore every twelfth year there is a calamity from the overflowing of the White River.

To the south-west of the fountain of the dragon Apalala ('O-po-lo-lo), about 30 li on the north side of the river, there is a foot trace of Buddha on a great rock. According to the religious merit of persons, this impression appears long or short. This is the trace left by Buddha after having subdued the dragon. Afterwards men built up a stone residence (*over the impression*). Men came here from a distance to offer incense and flowers.

Following the stream downwards 30 li or so, we come to the stone where Tathagata washed his robe. The tissues of the kashaya stuff are yet visible as if engraved on the rock.

To the south of the town of Mungali 400 li or so we come to Mount Hila (Hi-lo). The water flowing through the valley here turns to the west, and then flowing again eastward re-mounts (*towards its source*). Various fruits and flowers skirt the banks of the stream and face the sides of the mountains. There are high crags and deep caverns, and placid streams winding through the valleys : sometimes are heard the sounds of people's voices, sometimes the reverberation of musical notes. There are, moreover, square stones here like long narrow bedsteads,<sup>15</sup> perfected as if by the hand of men ; they stretch in continuous lines from the mountain side down the valey. It was here Tathagata dwelling in old days, by listening to half a *Gatha* of the law was content to kill himself.<sup>16</sup>

Going south about 200 li from the town of Mungali, by the

<sup>14</sup> This may be otherwise translated, "he who holds the diamond spirit club, knocking," &c. The reference is to the thunderbolt of Indra. See Eitel's *Handbook*, s. voc. *Vajrapani*.

<sup>15</sup> The expression *t'ah yuen* may refer to the soft cushion of a bed, or it may have a technical meaning. Has the story arisen from the use of *prastara* for "bed" and "stone" alike ?

<sup>16</sup> A *gatha* is a verse of thirty-two syllables.—*Ch. Ed.* This story of Bodhisattva sacrificing his life for the sake of a half-gatha will be found in the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* of the Northern School, K. xiv. fol. 11. I have translated it in *Trubner's Record*. See also *Ind. Antq.*, vol. iv. p. 90; Upham, *Doctrines and Literature of Buddhism*, vol. iii. p. 306.

side of a great mountain, we come to the Mahavana<sup>17</sup> *sangharama*. It was here Tathagata in old days practised the life of a Bodhisattva under the name of Sarvadata-raja.<sup>18</sup> Fleeing from his enemy, he resigned his country and arrived secretly in this place. Meeting with a poor Brahman who asked alms from him, and having nothing to give in consequence of his losing his country, he ordered him to bind him as a prisoner and take him to the king, his enemy, in order that he might receive a reward, which would be in the place of charity to him.

Going north-west from the Mahavana *sangharama* down the mountain 30 or 40 li, we arrive at the Mo-su *sangharama*.<sup>19</sup> Here there is a *stupa* about 100 feet or so in height.

By the side of it is a great square stone on which is the impress of Buddha's foot. This is the spot where Buddha in old time planted his foot, (which) scattered a koti of rays of light which lit up the Mahavana *sangharama*, and then for the sake of Devas and men he recited the history of his former births (*Jatakas*). Underneath this *stupa* (or at the foot of it) is a stone of a yellow-white colour, which is always damp with an unctuous (fatty) moisture; this is where Buddha, when he was in old time practising the life of a Bodhisattva, having heard the words of the true law, breaking a bone of his own body, wrote (with the marrow) the substance of a book containing the words he had heard.

Going west 60 or 70 li from the Mo-su *sangharama* is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja. It was here Tathagata in old time, practising the life of a Bodhisattva, was called Sivika (or Sibika) Raja.<sup>20</sup> Seeking the fruit of Buddhahood, he cut his body to pieces in this place to redeem a dove from the power of a hawk.

Going north-west from the place where he redeemed the dove, 200 li or so, we enter the valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi, where is the convent of Sa-pao-sha-ti.<sup>21</sup> Here is a *stupa* in height 80

<sup>17</sup> In Chinese *Ta-lin*, "great forest."—Ch. Ed.

<sup>18</sup> The Chinese equivalents are *Sa-pa-ta-ta*, which are explained by, *tsi-shi*, "he who gives all."

<sup>19</sup> For Mo-su-lo, Masura.—Julien. Mo-su is explained in text to mean "lentils" (*masura*).

<sup>20</sup> For the *Sivi Jataka* see my *Abstract of Four Lectures*, pp. 33 seq. This story is a favourite one, and forms an episode in the *Mahabharata*. iii. 13275—13300; the same story of the hawk and pigeon is told of Usinara in iii. 10560—10596. See also *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. ix. and lxxxiii. fig. 1, pp. 194, 225. The figures of the dove and hawk, which are sometimes seen in other Buddhist sculptures, e.g., Cunningham, *Bharhut Stupa*, pl. xlvi. 7, probably allude to this *jataka*. Conf. *Jour. Ceylon Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii. (1853), pp. 5, 6; S. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 277—279; Burgess, *Notes on Ajanta Rock Temples*, p. 76; *Cave-Temples of India*, pp. 291, 315.

<sup>21</sup> The valley of Shan-ni-lo-shi may be restored to Saniraja, "the giving king." There is a note in the original which explains Shi-pi-kia

feet or so. In old time, when Buddha was Lord Sakra, famine and disease were prevalent everywhere in this country. Medicine was of no use and, and the roads were filled with dead. Lord Sakra was moved with pity and meditated how he might rescue and save the people. Then changing his form, he appeared as a great serpent, and extended his dead body all along the void of the great valley, and called from the void to those on every side (*to look*). Those who heard were filled with joy, and running together hastened to the spot, and the more they cut the body of the serpent the more they revived, and were delivered both from famine and disease.

By the side of this *stupa* and not far off is the great *stupa* of Suma. Here in old time when Tathagata was Lord Sakra, filled with concern for the world, afflicted with every kind of disease and pestilence, with his perfect knowledge of the case, he changed himself into the serpent Suma;<sup>22</sup> none of those who tasted his flesh failed to recover from their disease.

To the north of the valley Shan-ni-lo-shi, by the side of a steep rock, is a *stupa*. Of those who, being sick, have come there to seek (*restoration*), most have recovered.

In old time Tathagata was the king of peacocks;<sup>23</sup> on one occasion he came to this place with his followers. Being afflicted with tormenting thirst, they sought for water on every side without success. The king of the peacocks with his beak struck the rock, and forthwith there flowed out an abundant stream which now forms a lake. Those who are afflicted on tasting or washing in the water are healed. On the rock are still seen the traces of the peacock's feet.

To the south-west of the town of Mungali 60 or 70 li there is a great river,<sup>24</sup> on the east of which in a *stupa* 60 feet or so

(Sivika) by the word "to give"; but Sivika is generally interpreted in Chinese Buddhist books by "silver-white," alluding perhaps to the "birch tree," with its silver-white bark, which is one of the meanings of *sivi*. The explanation "to give" ought to be referred to *sani*, in the compound Saniraja. The name of the convent, Sa-pao-sha-ti, is explained in the text by *she-yo*—serpent medicine, and is restored by Julien to Sarpaushadi.

<sup>22</sup> The serpent Suma (*Su-mo-she*), translated by Julien, "serpent of water;" but I take Suma to be a proper name. The serpent Suma is probably another form of the Ahi, or cloud-snake of the *Veda* (compare Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Anc. Nations*, p. 174). The Deva of Adam's Peak, who has so much to do with the serpents converted by Buddha, is called Sumana.

<sup>23</sup> Mayura-raja.

<sup>24</sup> The Subhavastu or Suvastu (*Rig-Veda*, viii 19, 37; *Mahabhar.* vi, 333), the *Sooatos* of Arrian Ind., iv, 11), the *Souatos* of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 42), and the modern Swat river, at the source of which the dragon Apalala lived. Conf. Fah-hian, ch. viii.; *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 86; Reinaud, *Mem. sur l' Inde*, p. 277; Saint-Martin, *Géographie du Veda*, p. 44; *Mem. Analytique s. la Carte &c.*, pp. 63, 64; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 336, n. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. (2nd ed.), p. 140; J. A. S. Beng., vol. ix. p. 480; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 183, 190, 194; and *ante*, notes 4 and 12, pp. 120, 122.

in height; it was built by Shang-kiun (Uttarasena). Formerly when Tathagata was about to die, he addressed the great congregation and said: "After my Nirvana, Uttarasena-raja, of the country Udyana (U-chang-na), will obtain a share of the relics of my body. When the kings were about to divide the relics equally, Uttarasena-raja arrived after (*the others*); coming from a frontier country, he was treated with little regard by the others."<sup>25</sup> At this time the Devas published afresh the words of Tathagata as he was about to die. Then obtaining a portion of relics, the king came back to his country, and, to show his great respect, erected this *stupa*. By the side of it, on the bank of the great river, there is a large rock shaped like an elephant. Formerly Uttarasena-raja brought back to his own land the relics of Buddha on a great white elephant. Arrived at this spot, the elephant suddenly fell down and died, and was changed immediately into stone. By the side of this the *stupa* is built.

Going west of the town of Mungali 50 li or so, and crossing the great river, we come to a *stupa* called Lu-hi-ta-kia (Rohitaka); it is about 50 feet high, and was built by Ashoka-raja. In former days, when Tathagata was practising the life of a Bodhisattva, he was the king of a great country, and was called Ts'z'li (*power of love*).<sup>26</sup> In this place he pierced his body, and with his blood fed the five Yakshas.

To the north-east of the town of Mungali 30 li or so is the Ho-pu-to-shi *stupa*,<sup>27</sup> about 40 feet in height. In former days Tathagata here expounded the law for the sake of men and Devas, to instruct (*enlighten*) and guide them. After Tathagata had gone, from the earth suddenly arose (*this stupa*); the people highly reverenced it, and offered flowers and incense without end.

The the west of the stone *stupa*, after crossing the great river and going 30 or 40 li, we arrive at Vihara, in which is a figure of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva.<sup>28</sup> Its spiritual influences exhibit themselves in a mysterious way, and its miraculous powers (*evidences*) are manifested in an illustrious manner. The votaries of the law come together from every side, and offer it continual sacrifices (*presents*).

<sup>25</sup> This may be also construed, "he was treated lightly on account of his rustic (frontier) appearance."

<sup>26</sup> Ts'z'li, restored by Julien to Maitribala; for this *Jataka* see R. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> Ho-pu-to is for *adbhuta*, miraculous or unique (Ch. *k'i-te*). Julien suggests *Adbhutasma*, the name of this *stupa* of miraculous stone (*k'i-te-shi*), but it may be simply "a miraculous stone stupa." The expression "stone stupa" is a common one, and indeed occurs in the following section.

<sup>28</sup> Avalokitesvara, in Chinese the phonetic symbols are '*O-fo-lu-che-to-i-shi-fa-lo*'. There is a note in the text explaining the meaning of this name to be "the looking (*kwan*) or beholding god" (*Isvara*, Ch. *tsz' tsai*,

Going north-west 140 or 150 li from the statue of Kwan-ts'‑tsai Bodhisattva, we come to the mountain of Lan-po-lu. The crest of this mountain has a dragon lake about 30 li or so in circuit. The clear waves roll in their majesty, the water pure as a bright mirror. In old days Pi-lu-tse-kia (Virudhaka-raja) having led his army to attack the Sakyas, four of the tribe resisted the advance.<sup>24</sup> These were driven away by their clansmen, and each fled in a different direction. One of the Sakyas, having left the capital of the country, and being worn out by travel, sat down to rest in the middle of the road.

There appeared now a wild goose, who, in his flight (*progress*), alighted before him; and because of his docile ways, he at last mounted on his back. The goose then flying away, took him to the side of this lake. By this mode of conveyance the Sakya fugitive visited different kingdoms in various directions. Once having mistaken his way, he went to sleep by the side of the lake under the shadow of a tree. At this time a young Naga maiden was walking beside the lake, and suddenly espied the Sakya youth. Fearing that she might not be able otherwise to accomplish her wish,<sup>25</sup> she transformed herself into a human shape and began to caress him. The youth, because of this, awoke affrighted from his sleep and addressing her said, "I am but a poor wonderer worn out with fatigue; why then do

"self-existent"). The note adds that the old forms of translation, viz., *Kwong-shai-yin*, "luminous voice," *Kwan-shai-yin*, "beholding or regarding voice," *Kwan-shai-ts'‑tsai*, "beholding the world god," are all erroneous. But there is good reason for believing that the form *Kwan-shai-yin*, "beholding or attending to the voice of men," arose from a confusion of the "looking-down god" with a quality attributed to a similar deity of "hearing prayers" (Al Makah). (See *J. R. As. S., N. S.*, vol. xv. p. 333 f.) It is singular, if the expression *Kwan-yin* is erroneous, that Hiuen Tsiang, or rather Hwui-lih, uses it so constantly in his biography (see *Vie*, pp. 88, 141, 146, 163, 172, and in the context); *ante*, p. 121, n. 210.

<sup>24</sup> For an account of this incident see Book vi. There is a corresponding account in the *Mahavanso*, p. 55. "While Buddha yet lived, driven by the misfortunes produced by the war of Prince Vidudhabho, certain members of the Sakya line retreating to Himavanto discovered a delightful and beautiful location, well watered and situated in the midst of a forest of lofty bo and other trees, &c." The account then goes on to speak of the peafowls (*mayuros*), and from that to trace the origin of the Moriany dynasty, to which Chandragupta belonged. The tale of the peacock bringing water from the rock, the serpent to which the dying people were to look, and the Moriany line of kings, might perhaps justify some reference to the name of the people inhabiting this district, viz., the Yuzaizais, Yuzaif being the Oriental form of the name of Joseph (V. de St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 313, n. 3). Conf. Max Muller, *Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit.*, p. 285; *Fo-sho-hing-ts'an-king*, p. 336. The account of the Naga maiden and the exiled wanderer (holy youth) which follows is also suggestive.

<sup>25</sup> That is, to approach near and inquire or look upon him (*tane*). The word rendered "caress" in this passage means to smooth, or pat the head.

you show me such tenderness?" In the course of matters the youth, becoming deeply moved, prayed her to consent to his wishes. She said, "My father and mother require to be asked and obeyed in this matter. You have favoured me with your affection, but they have not yet consented." The Sakya youth replied, "The mountains and valleys (*surround us*) with their mysterious shades; where then is your home?" She said, "I am a Naga maiden belonging to this pool. I have heard with awe of your holy tribe having suffered such things, and of your being driven away from home to wander here and there in consequence. I have fortunately been able, as I wandered, to administer somewhat to your comfort, and you have desired me to yield to your wishes in other respects, but I have received no commands to that effect from my parents. Unhappily, too, this Naga body is the curse following my evil deeds."<sup>31</sup>

The Sakya youth answered, "One word uttered from the ground of the heart and agreed to (*by us both*) and this matter is ended."<sup>32</sup> She said, "I respectfully obey your orders; let that follow whatever it be."<sup>33</sup> Then the Sakya youth said, "By the power of my accumulated merit let this Naga woman be turned into human shape." The woman was immediately so converted. On seeing herself thus restored to human shape she was overjoyed, and gratefully addressed the Sakya youth thus: "By my evil deeds (*through the accumulation of evil deeds*), I have been compelled to migrate through evil forms of birth, till now happily, by the power of your religious merit, the body which I have possessed through many kalpas has been changed in a moment. My gratitude is boundless, nor could it be expressed if I wore my body to dust (*with frequent prostrations*). Let me but acquaint my father and mother; I will then follow you and obey you in all things."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This passage may be rendered literally thus: "How much rather, alas! since on account of accumulated misery I have received this Naga (*serpent*) body." The expression *tsih ho*, "misery accumulated from evil deeds," corresponds with the phrase *tsih fuh*, "much happiness derived from good works." (See Wells Williams, *Tonic Dict.*, sub *tsik*, to gather or hoard up). There is a passage following the above omitted in the text: "A man and beast are different in their ways (*of birth*); such a union has not been heard of."

<sup>32</sup> This may otherwise be translated: "One word permitted by you, my cherished desire is then accomplished." I take *suh sin* to be equal to *suh quen*, a cherished desire; but the expression may also refer to the power of accumulated merit to effect an object, the *sachcha kiriya* (*satyakritya*) of the Southern School of Buddhism. See Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub *voc.*; also *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> Julien translates this passage: "I am prepared to follow you." The meaning may also be, "only let that follow which you desire;" or, "only let that be accomplished which is the consequence of the past," i.e., your past deeds.

<sup>34</sup> The literal translation of this passage is: "Desiring to make returns for this goodness, grinding my body to dust, I should not yet

The Naga maiden then returning to the lake addressed her father and mother, saying, "Just now, as I was wandering abroad, I lighted upon a Sakya youth, who by the power of his religious merit succeeded in changing me into human form. Having formed an affection for me, he desires to marry me. I lay before you the matter in its truth."

The Naga-raja was rejoiced to see his daughter restored to human form, and from a true affection to the holy tribe he gave consent to his daughter's request. Then proceeding from the lake, he expressed his deep gratitude to the Sakya youth, and said "You have not despised creatures of other kinds, and have condescended to those beneath you. I pray you come to my abode, and there receive my humble services."<sup>35</sup>

The Sakya youth having accepted the Naga-raja's invitation, went forthwith to his abode. On this all the family of the Naga received the youth with extreme reverence, and desired to delight his mind by an excess of festing and pleasure; but the youth, seeing the dragon forms of his entertainers, was filled with affright and disgust, and he desired to go. The Naga-raja detaining him said, "Of your kindness depart not. Occupy a neighbouring abode; I will manage to make you master of this land and to obtain a lasting fame. All the people shall be your servants, and your dynasty shall endure for successive ages."

The Sakya youth expressed his gratitude, and said, "I can hardly expect your words to be fulfilled." Then the Naga-raja took a precious sword and placed it in a casket covered with white camlet, very fine and beautiful, and then he said to the Sakya youth, "Now of your kindness go to the king and offer him this white camlet as a tribute. The king will be sure to accept it as the offering of a remote (*distant*) person; then, as he takes it, draw forth the sword and kill him. Thus you will seize his kingdom. Is it not excellent?"

The Sakya youth receiving the Naga's directions, went forthwith to make his offering to the king of U-chang-na (Udyana). When the king was about to take the piece of white camlet, then the youth took hold of his sleeve, and pierced him with the sword. The attendant ministers and the guards raised a great outcry and ran about in confusion. The Sakya youth, waving the sword, cried out, "This sword that I hold was given me by a holy Naga wherewith to punish the contumelious and subdue the arrogant." Being affrighted by the divine warrior, they submitted, and gave him the kingdom. On this he corrected abuses and established order; he advanced the good and relieved the unfortunate; and then with a great

thank you enough. My heart desires to follow you in your travels; one thing restrains me, the propriety of things; let me," &c. Instead of "obey you," the word *li* may refer to ceremonial or marriage rites.

<sup>35</sup> Literally, "sweepings and bathings."

cortege he advanced towards the Naga palace to acquaint him with the completion of his undertaking; and then taking his wife he went back to the capital. Now the former demerits of the Naga girl were not yet effected, and their consequences still remained. Every time he went to rest by her side, from her head came forth the ninefold crest of the Naga. The Sakya prince, filled with affright and disgust, hitting on no other plan, waited till she slept, and then cut off (*the dragon's crest*) with his sword. The Naga girl, alarmed, awoke and said, "This will bring no good hereafter to your posterity; it will not be ineffectual in slightly afflicting me during my life, and you, children and grandchildren will all suffer from pains in the head." And so the royal line of this country are ever afflicted with this malady, and although they are not all so continually, yet every succession brings a worse affliction. After the death of the Sakya youth his son succeeded under the name of Uttarasena (U-ta-lo-si-na).

Just after Uttarasena had come to power his mother lost her sight. Tathagata, when he was going back from the subjugation of the Naga Apalala, descended from space and alighted in this palace. Uttarasena was out hunting, and Tathagata preached a short sermon to his mother. Having heard the sermon from the mouth of the holy one, she forthwith recovered her sight. Tathagata then asked her, "Where is your son? he is of my family." She said, "He went out hunting for a while this morning, but he will soon be back." When Tathagata with his attendants were bent on going, the king's mother said, "Of my great fortune I have borne a child belonging to the holy family; and Tathagata of his great compassion has again come down to visit my house as connected with him. My son will soon return; oh, pray remain for a short time!" The Lord of the World said, "This son of yours belongs to my family; he need only hear the truth to believe it and understand it. If he were not my relative I would remain to instruct his heart, but now I go. On his return, tell him that Tathagata has gone from this to Kusinagar (Keu-shi), where between the *Sala* trees he is about to die, and let your son come for a share of the relics to honour them."

Then Tathagata with all his attendants took flight through the air and went. Afterwards Uttarasena-raja, whilst engaged in the chase, saw, a long way off, his palace lighted up as if with a fire. Being in doubt about it, he quitted the chase and returned. On seeing his mother with her sight restored he was transported with joy, and addressed her, saying, "What fortunate circumstance has occurred to you during my short absence that you should have got your sight again as of old time?" The mother said, "After you had gone out Tathagata came here, and after hearing him preach I recovered my sight. Buddha has

gone from here to Kushinagara ; he is going to die between the *Sala* trees. He commands you to go quickly to the spot to get some of his relics."

The king having heard these words, uttered cries of lamentation and fell prostrate on the ground motionless. Coming to himself, he collected his cortege and went to the twin-trees, where Buddha had already died. Then the kings of the other countries treated him scornfully, and were unwilling to give him a share of the much-prized relics they were taking to their own countries. On this a great assembly of Devas acquainted them with Buddha's wishes, on which the king divided the relics equally, beginning with him.

Going north-west from the town of Mung-kia-li, crossing a mountain and passing through a valley, we reascend the Sintu river.<sup>36</sup> The roads are craggy and steep ; the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (*across the gorges*). There are foot-bridges (*or covered ways*) suspended in the air, any flying bridges across the chasms, with wooden steps let into the ground for climbing the steep embankments. Going thus 1000 li or so, we reach the river valley of Ta-li-lo,<sup>37</sup> where stood once the capital of U-chang-na. This country produces much gold and scented turmeric. By the side of a great *sangharama* in this valley of Ta-li-lo is a figure of Maitreya<sup>38</sup> Bodhisattva, carved out of wood. It is golden coloured, and very dazzling in appearance, and possesses a secret spiritual power (*of miracle*). It is about 100 feet high, and is the work of the Arhat Madhyantika.<sup>39</sup> This saint by his spiritual power caused a

<sup>36</sup> That is, we strike on the Indus river, and ascend it against its course.

<sup>37</sup> Ta-li-lo, or Daril or Darail, a valley on the right or western bank of the Indus (long.  $73^{\circ} 44'$  E., watered by a river Daril, containing half-a-dozen towns, and occupied by Dardus or Dards, from whom it received its name (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 82). It is perhaps the same as the To-li of Fa-hian. Conf. Cunningham in *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. p. 19; and *Ladak*, pp. 2,46 f. Julien has Talila.

<sup>38</sup> Maitreya is the "Buddha to come." He is supposed now to be dwelling as a Bodhisattva in the fourth Devaloka heaven called Tushita (Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, p. 25; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 96, 606). This heaven is the place of desire for Buddhists like Hiuen Tsiang, who constantly prayed on his death-bed for the happiness of being born there. The short Chinese inscription lately found at Buddha Gaya is occupied chiefly with aspirations after this heaven (*J. R. A. S. N.S.*, vol. xiii. pp. 552 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x. p. 193). It is a belief opposed to the "paradise of the west" (*Sukhavati*), which probably is of foreign origin.

<sup>39</sup> Madhyantika, according to the Northern School of Buddhism, was a disciple of Ananda (*Fo-sho-hing-tsang-king*, xi.), converted shortly before the death of the latter. In Tibetan he is called *Ni-mahi-gung*. See *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. p. 92. By some he is reckoned as one of the first five patriarchs, and placed between Ananda and Sanavasa, but others do not reckon him among them. At Banaras the people were annoyed at the number of Bhikshus, and Madhyantika, taking ten thousand of

sculptor to ascend into the Tushita (Tu-si-to) heaven, that he might see for himself the marks and signs (*on the person of Maitreya*) ; this he did three times, till his task was finished. From the time of the execution of this image the streams of the law (*religious teaching*) began to flow eastward.

Going east from this, after climbing precipices and crossing valleys, we go up the course of the Sin-tu river ; and then, by the help of flying bridges and footways made of wood across the chasms and precipices, after going 500 li or so, we arrive at the country of Po-lu-lo (Bolor).

### Po-LU-LO (BOLOR)

The country of Po-lu-lo<sup>40</sup> is about 4000 li in circuit ; it stands in the midst of the great Snowy Mountains. It is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It produces wheat and pulse, gold and silver. Thanks to the quantity of gold, the country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character ; there is little humanity or justice with them ; and as for politeness, such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance, and wear clothes made of wool. Their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different. There are about a hundred *sangharamas* in the country, with something like a thousand priests, who show no great zeal for learning, and are careless in their moral conduct. Leaving this country and returning to U-to-kia-han-cha (Udakhanda),<sup>41</sup>

them, flew through the air to Mount Usira, in Kasmir, which he converted to Buddhism. See Vassilief, pp. 35, 39, 45, 225 ; Koppen, vol. i. pp. 145, 189 f. The *Mahawanso* (p. 71) speaks of a Majjhima who, after the third Buddhist synod, was sent to Kasmir and the Himavanta country to spread the Buddhist faith. (See also Oldenberg, *Dipavamsa*, viii. 10). Fa-hian (chap. vii) says this image was carved about 300 years after the *Nirvana*.

<sup>40</sup> According to Cunningham, Bolor is the modern Balti, Baltistan, or Little Tibet (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 84). Marco Polo also mentions a country called Bolor, but he places it E.N.E. from the Pamir plateau (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. p. 187). Bolor may have included both Balti and the mountains adjoining the southern margin of Pamir. Indeed the Chinese included Chitral to the northern boundary of Swat under this term (Yule). Sung Yun refers to this country (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 187). For other references see Yule (*op. cit.*, p. 188). Although Hwui-lih says nothing about this visit to Bolor, yet the use of the symbol *hing* shows that Hiuen Tsiang personally visited the country. Marco Polo says of the people, "they are indeed an evil race." He also calls them "savage idolaters" (*op. cit.*, chap. xxxii). Ptolemy (*Geog.*, lib. vi. c. 13, 3) places the *Bultai* as the foot of the Imaus mountains, in Little Tibet or Baltistan. This district was noted for its gold in very early times (conf. Herodotus, lib. iii. cc. 102, 105 ; Strabo, lib. ii. c. 1, 9 ; lib. xv. c. 1, 37 ; Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 4 ; *Indika*, c. 5 ; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv. pp. 225 ff.

<sup>41</sup> There seems little doubt that this should be identified with Ohind or Wahand on the right bank of the Indus, about 16 miles above Atak,

we cross at the south the river Sin-tu. The river is about 3 or 4 li in width, and flows south-west. Its waters are pure and clear as a mirror as they roll along with impetuous flow. Poisonous Nagas and hurtful beasts occupy the caverns and clefts along its sides. If a man tries to cross the river carrying with him valuable goods or gems or rare kinds of flowers or fruits, or especially relics of Buddha, the boat is frequently engulphed by the waves.<sup>42</sup> After crossing the river we arrive at the kingdom of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo (Takshasila).

#### TA-CH'A-SHI-LO (TAKSHASILA)

The kingdom of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo<sup>43</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital is about 10 li in circuit. The royal family being extinct, the nobles contend for power by force. Formerly this country was in subjection to Kapisa, but latterly it has become tributary to Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kasmir). The land is renowned for its fertility, and produces rich harvests. It is very full of streams and fountains. Flowers and fruits are abundant. The climate is agreeably temperate. The people are lively and coura-

which Albiruni calls Wayhand, the capital of Kandahar (Gandhara). V. St. Martin, *Mem.*, u. s., p. 310; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 474 n.; Reinaud. *Fragm. Arab. et Pers.*, p. 114; *Mem. sur l' Inde*, pp. 196, 276; Court, J. A. S. Ben., vol. v. p. 395; Cunningham, *ib.*, vol. xvii. p. 130, and *Anc. Geog.*, pp. 55 f.; Benfey, *Indien*, p. 115; Elliot, *Hist. Ind.*, vol. i. pp. 48, 63, 445; vol. ii. pp. 28, 33, 150, 426, 438 f.; and *ante*, Book II; n. 108.

<sup>42</sup> So we find on his return journey Hiuen Tsiang lost his books and flowers, and was nearly drowned in crossing the river about this spot (see Hwui-lih, K. v.; *Vie*, p. 263).

<sup>43</sup> On the return journey, Hiuen Tsiang makes the distance from Takshasila to the Indus three days' journey N.W. (Hwui-lih, *Vie*, p. 263). Fa-hien makes it seven days' journey from Gandhara (cap. xi); Sung-yun also places it three days to the east of the Indus (Beal's *Bud. Pilgrims*, p. 200). General Cunningham places the site of the city near Shah-dheri, one mile to the north-east of Kala-ka-sarai, where he found the ruins of a fortified city, and was able to trace the remains of no less than fifty-five stupas—of which two were as large as the great Manikyala tope—twenty-eight monasteries, and nine temples (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 105). The classical writers notice the size and wealth of the city of *Taxila* (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 8; Strabo, *Geog.*, lib. xv. c. 1, 17 and 28; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vi. c. 17, 62, and c. 23; Ptolemy, *Geog.*, lib. vii. 1, 45; Dionysius Perig., 1141). Apollonius and Damis are said also to have visited Taxila about A.D. 45. Philostratus describes the carvings and pictures of a temple near the town, representing scenes from the conflict of Porus with Alexander (cap. 20, p. 71, ed. Olearii, 1709). For further remarks on the ruins and antiquities see Cunningham, *op. cit.* pp. 104 f. M. V. de St. Martin, relying on the measurements given by Pliny derived from the records of Alexander's expedition, places Taxila at Hassan-Abdal, eight miles north-west of Shah-dheri (vid. *Memoire*, p. 319); conf. Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, p. 196; J. R. A. S., vol. v. p. 118; Burnouf, *Introd.* pp. 322 f., 332, 361; *Lotus*, pp. 689 f.; Bunbury, *Hist. Anc. Geog.*, vol. i. pp. 443, 499. It is frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, e.g. *Mahab.*, i. 682, 834; *Ramayana*, iv. 53, sl. 23; *Brih. Samh.*, x. 8, and xiv. 26; Panini, iv 2, 82 and 3, 93.

geous, and they honour the three gems. Although there are many *sangharamas*, they have become ruinous and deserted and there are very few priests; those that there are study the Great Vehicle.

North-west of the capital about 70 li is the tank of the Naga-raja Elapatra (I-lo-po-to-lo);<sup>44</sup> it is about 100 paces round, the waters are pure and sweet; lotus flowers of various colours, which reflect different tints in their common beauty (*garnish the surface*); this Naga was a Bhikshu who anciently, in the time of Kashyapa Buddha, destroyed an Elapatra tree. Hence, at the present time, when the people of that country ask for rain or fine weather, they must go with the Shamans to the side of the tank, and then cracking their fingers (*or, in a moment*), after praying for the desired object, they obtain it.

Going 30 li or so to the south-east of the Naga tank, we enter a gorge between two mountains, where there is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. It is about 100 feet in height. This is where Sakya Tathagata delivered a prediction, that when Maitreya, Lord of the World, appeard hereafter, there should also appear of themselves four great gem treasures, and that in this excellent land there should be one. According to tradition, we find that whenever there is an earthquake, and the mountains on every side are shaken, all round this sacred spot (*treasure*) to the distance of 100 paces there is perfect stillness. If men are so foolish as to attempt to dig into the place (*or ground surrounding it*), the earth shakes again, and the men are thrown down headlong.

By the side of the *stupa* is a *sangharama* in ruins, and which has been for a long time deserted and without priests.

To the north of the city 12 or 13 li is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. On feast-days (*religious commemoration days*) it glows with light, and divine flowers fall around it, and heavenly music is heard. According to tradition, we find in late times there was a woman whose body was grievously afflicted with leprosy. Coming to the *stupa* secretly, she offered worship in excess and confessed her faults. Then seeing that the vestibule (*the open court in front of the stupa*) was full of dung and dirt, she removed it, and set to work to sweep and water it and to scatter flowers and perfumes; and having gathered some blue

<sup>44</sup> The story of the Naga-raja Elapatra is a favourite one in Chinese Buddhist books. See *Romantic Hist. of Buddha*, p. 276 ff. (*Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 27). Cunningham identifies the tank of Elapatra with the fountain of Hasan Abdal called Baba-Wali. In the legend referred to above we are told that the Naga stretched his body from Takshasila to Banaras (compare the sculpture). In this case we should be led to Hasan Abdal as the site of Takshasila. This Naga is mentioned in Brahmanical literature also as the son of Kasyapa and Kadru. *Mahabharata*, i. 1551; *Harivamsa*, 228, 12821; *Vishnu-purana* (Hall's ed.), vol. ii. pp. 74, 285, 287, and vol. v. p. 251.

lotus flowers, she covered the ground with them. On this her evil leprosy left her, and her form became lovely, and her beauty doubled, whilst from her person there came the famed scent of the blue lotus, and this also is the reason of the fragrance of this excellent place. This is the spot where Tathagata formerly dwelt when he was practising the discipline of a Bodhisattva; he was then the king of a great country and was called Chen-ta-lo-po-la-po (Chandraprabha); he cut off his head, earnestly seeking the acquirement of *Bodhi*: and this he did during a thousand successive births, (*for the same object and in the same place*).<sup>45</sup>

By the side of the *stupa* of the "sacrificed head" is a *sangharama*, of which the surrounding courts are deserted and overgrown; there are (*nevertheless*) a few priests. It was here in old days the master of *sastras* Kumaralabdha,<sup>46</sup> belonging to the school of *Sutras* (Sautrantikas),<sup>47</sup> composed several treatises.

Outside the city to the south-east, on the shady<sup>48</sup> side of a mountain,<sup>49</sup> there is a *stupa*, in height 100 feet or so; this is the place where they put out the eyes of Ku-lang-na (for *Ku-no-lang-na*, Kunala), who had been unjustly accused by his step-mother; it was built by Asoka-raja.

When the blind pray to it (*or before it*) with fervent faith, many of them recover their sight. This prince (Kunala) was the son of the rightful queen. His person was graceful and his disposition loving and humane. When the queen-royal was dead, her successor (*the step-queen*) was dissolute and unprincipled. Following her wild and foolish preference, she made proposals to the prince; he, when she solicited him, reproached her with tears, and departed, refusing to be guilty of such a crime. The step-mother, seeing that he rejected her, was filled with wrath and hatred; waiting for an interval when she was

<sup>45</sup> This legend was the origin of the name Taksha-sira, "the severed head," given to the place, as noticed by Fa-hian and Sung-yun. The legend will be found in Rajendra Lal Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, pp. 310, viii. "The man" for whose sake he gave his head, as stated by Sung-yun (*Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 200) and by Fa-hian (cap. xi) was the wicked Brahman Rudraksha.

<sup>46</sup> In Chinese *Tong-shau*, youth-receiving; the phonetic symbols are *Ku-mo-lo-lo-to*.

<sup>47</sup> The Sautrantika school of Buddhism was, according to Vassilief (*Buddhisme*, p. 233), founded by Dharmottara or Utaradharma; it was one of the two principal branches of the Hinayana, or Little Vehicle, of Buddhism; the other branch being the Vaibhashika school. On their tenets see Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, vol. i. pp. 391 f.; Koppen, *Die Relig. d. Buddha*, vol. i. pp. 151 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 109, 397 f.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 460; Vassilief, pp. 34, 38, 48, 63 f., 114 f., 268, 273—286, 321.

<sup>48</sup> That is, on the northern side.

<sup>49</sup> Or, a south mountain; but probably *nan* is redundant.

with the king, she addressed him<sup>50</sup> thus: "To whom should your majesty intrust the government of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo but to your own son? The prince is renowned for his humanity and obedience; because of his attachment to the good his fame is in every mouth." The king listening to her seducing words,<sup>51</sup> agreed willingly with the vile plot, and forthwith gave orders to his oldest son in these words: "I have received my royal inheritance in succession, and I desire to hand it down to those who follow me; my only fear is lest I should lose aught of it and so dishonour my ancestors. I now confide to you the government of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo.<sup>52</sup> The affairs of a country are of serious importance; the feelings of men are contradictory; undertake nothing rashly, so as to endanger your authority; verify the orders sent you; my seal is the impression of my teeth; here in my mouth is my seal. There can be no mistake."

On this the prince, receiving his orders, went to establish order. And so months passed on, yet the step-mother's hatred did but increase. Accordingly she wrote a dispatch and sealed it with red wax, and then, waiting till the king was asleep, she stamped it secretly with his tooth impression, and sent it off by a messenger with all dispatch as a letter of accusation. His ministers having read the letter,<sup>53</sup> were confused, and looked at one another with dismay.

The prince then asked them what moved them so. They said, "The Maharaja has sent a dispatch accusing the prince, and ordering both his eyes to be put out, and that he be taken with his wife to the mountains,<sup>54</sup> and there left to die. Although this order has come, we dare not obey it; but we will ask afresh for directions, and keep you bound till the reply comes."<sup>55</sup>

The prince said, "My father, if he has ordered my death, must be obeyed; and the seal of his teeth is a sure sign of the truth of the order. There can be no error." Then he ordered a Chandala to pluck out his eyes; and having thus lost his sight, he wandered forth to beg for his daily support. As he traveled on far away, he came to his father's capital town. His wife

<sup>50</sup> The text requires some such expression as "winningly" or "when on easy terms with the king" she addressed him thus.

<sup>51</sup> The text implies that he was gratified to accede to the terms of this plot of the adulteress, or this adulterous (*kien*) plot.

<sup>52</sup> About fifty years after Alexander's campaign the people of Takshasila rebelled against Bindusara, king of Magadha, who sent his eldest son, Susima, to besiege the place. On his failure the siege was intrusted to Asoka, his younger son, to whom the people at once submitted. Here Asoka dwelt as viceroy of the Punjab during his father's lifetime, and here on the occasion of another revolt he placed his son Kunala, the hero of the legend in the text. Conf. Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 163, 357, 360; *J. A. S. Ben.*, vol. vi. p. 714.

<sup>53</sup> Having persued the letter on their knees.

<sup>54</sup> To the mountain valleys.

<sup>55</sup> Awaiting the sentence or punishment.

said to him,<sup>56</sup> "There is the royal city." "Alas!" he said, "what pain I endure from hunger and cold. I was a prince; I am a beggar. Oh, that I could make myself known and get redress for the false charge formerly brought against me!"<sup>57</sup> On this he contrived to enter the king's inner bureau, and in the after part of the night he began to weep, and with a plaintive voice, accompanied with the sound of a lute,<sup>58</sup> he sang a mournful song.

The king, who was in an upper chamber,<sup>59</sup> hearing these wonderful strains full of sadness and suffering, was surprised, and inquired. "From the notes of the lute and the sound of the voice I take this to be my son; but why has he come here?"

He immediately said to his court attendant, "Who is that singing to?"

Forthwith he brought the blind man into his presence and placed him before the king. The king, seeing the prince, overwhelmed with grief, exclaimed, "Who has thus injured you? Who has caused this misery, that my beloved son should be deprived of sight? Not one of all his people can he see. Alas! what an end to come to!"<sup>60</sup> O heavens! O heavens! what a misfortune is this!"<sup>61</sup>

The prince, yielding to his tears, thanked (his father) and replied, "In truth,<sup>62</sup> for want of filial piety have I thus been punished by Heaven. In such a year and such a month and such a day suddenly there came a loving order (*or* an order from my mother). Having no means of excusing myself, I dared not shrink from the punishment." The king's heart, knowing that the second wife had committed this crime, without any further inquiry caused her to be put to death.<sup>63</sup>

At this time in the *sangharama* of the *Bodhi* tree<sup>64</sup> there was a great Arhat called Ghosha (Kiu-sha). He had the four-

<sup>56</sup> Kunala's wife was called Chin-kin-man, pure-gold-garland (Kanchanamala). The stepmother's name was Tishyarakshita, and his mother's Padmavati (Lien-hwa). His name is also spelt Kunala.

<sup>57</sup> This may be otherwise rendered: "Would that I could obtain a hearing, so as to vindicate myself completely from the former accusation." Julien translates it: "I will expose anew my past faults."

<sup>58</sup> A *vina*.

<sup>59</sup> A high tower or pavilion.

<sup>60</sup> Or it may simply mean, "how was this brought about?"

<sup>61</sup> Julien translates it, "how virtue has degenerated." The symbol *tih*, however, need not be rendered "virtue;" it refers to the reversal of fortune or condition.

<sup>62</sup> The sense of the passage seems to require the force of *ching* to be, "Do you not know?" or "You are aware that my punishment is due to a charge of filial disobedience."

<sup>63</sup> This story is also given by Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 362 f.

<sup>64</sup> The *sangharama* of the *Bodhi* tree was the convent built on the site of the Buddha Gaya temple.

fold power of "explanation without any difficulties."<sup>65</sup> He was completely versed in the *Trividyas*.<sup>66</sup> The king taking to him his blind son, told him all the matter, and prayed that he would of his mercy restore him to sight. Then that Arhat, having received the king's request, forthwith addressed to the people this order: "To-morrow I desire to declare the mysterious principle (*of the law*) ; let each person come here with a vessel in his hands to hear the law and receive it in his tears." Accordingly, they came together from every side (*far and near*), both men and women, in crowds. At this time the Arhat preached on the twelve *Nidanas*,<sup>67</sup> and there was not one of those who heard the sermon but was moved to tears. The tears were collected in the vessels, and then, when his sermon was finished, he collected all these tears in one golden vessel, and then with a strong affirmation, he said, "What I have said is gathered from the most mysterious of Buddha's doctrines ; if this is not true, if there be error in what I have said, then let things remain as they are ; but if it is otherwise, I desire that this blind man may recover his sight after washing his eyes with these tears."<sup>68</sup>

After finishing this speech he washed his eyes with the water, and lo ! his sight was restored.

The king then accused the ministers (*who had executed the order*) and their associates. Some he degraded, others he banished, others he removed, others he put to death. The common people (*who had participated in the crime*) he banished to the north-east side of the Snowy Mountains, to the middle of the sandy desert.

Going south-east from this kingdom, and crossing the mountains and valleys about 700 li, we come to the kingdom of Sang-ho-pu-lo (Simhapura).

#### SANG-HO-PU-LO [SIMHAPURA]

The kingdom of Sang-ho-pu-lo<sup>69</sup> is about 3500 or 3600 li in circuit. On the west it borders on the river Sin-tu. The capital is about 14 or 15 li in circuit ; it borders on the mountains. The crags and precipices which surround it cause it to be naturally

<sup>65</sup> For this fourfold power of unimpeded explanation consult Childers' *Pali Dict.* s. v. *patisambhida*, also Eitel, *Handbook* s. v. *pratisamvid*. Julien has an instructive note on this point. Conf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 839.

<sup>66</sup> For the *trividyas* consult Eitel, *sub voc.* ; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 372 ; Julien, *Mem. s. l. Cont. Occid.*, tome i. p. 160 ; and *ante*, Book II, n. 75.

<sup>67</sup> See Burnouf, *Introd. au Buddh.*, pp. 52, 432, 574, 577 f. ; *Lotus*, p. 380 ; Hardy, *East. Mon.*, pp. 6, 193, 301.

<sup>68</sup> There is a similar story told by Asvaghosha ; the Ghosha of the text, however, must not be confused with him.

<sup>69</sup> The distance from Takshasila to Simhapura being 700 li, or about 140 miles, we should expect to find it near Taki or Narasinha (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.*, map vi). But the capital is described as being surrounded by mountain crags, which will not apply to the plain country.

strong. The ground is not highly cultivated, but the produce is abundant. The climate is cold, the people are fierce and value highly the quality of courage; moreover, they are much given to deceit. The country has no king or rulers, but is in dependence on Kashmir. Not far to the south of the capital is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. The decorations are much injured: spiritual wonders are continually connected with it. By its side is a *sangharama*, which is deserted and without priests.

To the south-east of the city 40 or 50 li is a stone *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja; it is 200 feet or so in height. There are ten tanks, which are secretly connected together, and on the right and left (*of the walks joining them*) are covered stones (*balustrades*) in different shapes and of strange character. The water of the tanks is clear, and the ripples are sometimes noisy and tumultuous. Dragons and various fishes<sup>70</sup> live in the clefts and caverns bordering on the tanks or hide themselves<sup>71</sup> in the waters. Lotus flowers of the four colours cover the surface of the limpid water. A hundred kind of fruits surround them, and glisten with different shades. The trees are reflected deep down in the water, and altogether it is a lovely spot for wandering forth.

By the side there is a *sangharama*, which for a long time has been without priests. By the side of the *stupa*, and not far off, is the spot where the original teacher of the white-robed heretics<sup>72</sup> arrived at the knowledge of the principles he sought, and first preached the law. There is an inscription placed there to that effect. By the side of this spot is a temple of the Devas. The persons who frequent it subject themselves to austerities; day and night they use constant diligence without relaxation. The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles

of Taki. For the same reason the town of Sangohi, which M. V. de St. Martin refers to, cannot be the place in question. General Cunningham identifies it with Khetas or Ketaksh, the holy tanks of which are still visited by crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 124). If this be so, the distance may probably include the *double* journey. The expression used by Hwui-lih (*kan*) seems to imply this. According to the subsequent account, Hiuen Tsiang went to Simhapura as an excursion, and returned to Takshasila. He probably went with Jain pilgrims who were visiting this *tirtha*, or holy place.

<sup>70</sup> The text has dragon-fishes, or dragons (serpents) and fishes, the tribes of the water.

<sup>71</sup> Or disport themselves in the stream.

<sup>72</sup> This refers to the Svetambaras, a sect of the Jains; Colebrooke (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 381) says that "this is a less strict order, and of more modern date and inferior note compared with the Digambaras" (noticed below, note 74). The Jainas were very influential about the time of Pulakesi (*Ind. Antq.*, vol. ii. p. 194); Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iv. pp. 97 f., 756 f. Whether the Jains preceded or succeeded the Buddhists, it is curious to have this testimony of Hiuen Tsiang that their original teacher arrived at enlightenment and first preached the law in this place, viz., Simhapura, and that there was an inscription placed here to that effect. Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii. pp. 14 f., 134 f., 193 f., 258 f.

of the books of Buddha. These men are of different classes, and select their rules and frame their precepts accordingly.<sup>73</sup> The great ones are called Bhikshus; the younger are called Sramaneras. In their ceremonies and modes of life they greatly resemble the priests (*of Buddha*), only they have a little twist of hair on their heads, and they go naked.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, what clothes they chance to wear are white. Such are the slight differences which distinguish them from others. The figure of their sacred master<sup>75</sup> they stealthily class with that of Tathagata; it differs only in point of clothing;<sup>76</sup> the points of beauty are absolutely the same.

From this place going back to the northern frontiers of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo, crossing the Sin-tu<sup>77</sup> river and going south-east 200 li or so, we pass the great stone gates where formerly Mahasattva, as a prince,<sup>78</sup> sacrificed his body to feed a hungry Wu-t'u (*Otu*, a cat).<sup>79</sup> To the south of this place 40 or 50 paces there is a stone *stupa*. This is the place where Mahasattva, pitying the dying condition of the beast,<sup>80</sup> after arriving at the

<sup>73</sup> Julien translates this passage thus: "On these laws (viz., of Buddha) he depended in framing his precepts and rules." This may perhaps be correct, but the plain translation of the passage is: "According to (their) classes, they frame (or possibly, "he framed") their laws, and arrange their regulations and precepts."

<sup>74</sup> The Digambaras, or "sky-clad," are another division of the Jainas, and are identical with the Nirgranthas. Hiuen Tsiang appears to confuse these with the "white-clad." For an account of the Digambara Jainas, see *Ind. Antq.*, vol. vii. p. 28; and vol. viii. p. 30, for the argument as to the relative antiquity of the Buddhist and Jaina sects; also conf. vol. i. p. 310; Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 485 ff.; Vassilieff, pp. 52, 70, 275.

<sup>75</sup> The text has *tin-sse*, heavenly master; but if *tin* be a mistake for *ta*, it would be their great master, viz., Mahavira.

<sup>76</sup> That is, the statues are alike, except that the Jaina ones are naked. This only applies to those of the Digambara Jainas. For these statues, see Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples*, pp. 485-590 and pl. xciv.; Burgess, *Arch. Sur. West. India Reports*, vol. v. pp. 43-50, 51, 58. From this interesting allusion to the Jainas it is evident that Hiuen Tsiang regarded them as dishonest separatists from Buddhism. The "points of beauty" referred to in the text are the thirty-two superior signs (*siang*), and the eighty inferior (*ho*), for which see references in note 5, p. 74, ante.

<sup>77</sup> It may be either that Hiuen Asiang went back to Ohind, and so crossed and recrossed the Indus, or that he calls the Suhan (Sushoma, *Soanos*) river by this name. The distance from Hasan Abdul to Manikyla (the body-offering spot) is just 40 miles (200 li), according to Cunningham's map (No. vi. *Anc. Geog. of India*).

<sup>78</sup> The incident of feeding the tigress is narrated in Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 93, 94; but there it is said that the Bodhisattva was a Brahman; here he is called a prince. The rock or gate where he practised asceticism was called Munda or Eraka (*op. cit. ibid.*).

<sup>79</sup> The compound *wu-fu*, which is translated by Julien "a tiger" without explanation, is probably the Sanskrit *otu*, a cat.

<sup>80</sup> "Pitying the exhausted condition of the hungry beast." The original implies that the beast had no strength and was dying from hunger. There is no reference to the tiger-cubs, nor is the number *seven*

spot, pierced his body with a bamboo splinter, so as to nourish the beast with his blood. On this the animal, taking the blood, revived. On this account all the earth and the plants at this place are dyed with a blood colour,<sup>81</sup> and when men dig the earth they find things like prickly spikes. Without asking whether we believe the tale or not, it is a piteous one.

To the north of the body-sacrifice place there is a stone *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by King Asoka. It is adorned with sculptures and tastefully constructed (*built*). From time to time spiritual indications<sup>82</sup> are apparent. There are a hundred or so small *stupas*, provided with stone niches for movable images (or stone movable niches) around this distinguished spot.<sup>83</sup> Whatever sick there are who can circumambulate it are mostly restored to health.

To the east of the *stupa* there is a *sangharama*, with about 100 priests given to the study of the Great Vehicle.

Going east from this 50 li or so, we come to an isolated mountain, where there is a *sangharama* with about 200 priests in it. They all study the Great Vehicle. Fruits and flowers abound here, with fountains and tanks clear as a mirror. By the side of this convent is a *stupa* about 300 feet in height. Here Tathagata dwelt in old time, and restrained a wicked Yaksha from eating flesh.

Going from this kingdom about 500 li or so along the mountains in a south-easterly direction, we come to the country of Wu-la-shi (Urasha).

#### WU-LA-SHI [URASA]

The kingdom of Wu-la-shi (Urasha)<sup>84</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys form a continuous chain. The fields fit for cultivation are contracted as to space. The capital

mentioned either here or by Fa-hian. For a full account of the legend and the ruins about Manikyala, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 153 ff., and conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 347 f., &c.

<sup>81</sup> This *stupa* has been identified by General Cunningham with that marked No. 5 on his plan of Manikyala (*Arch. Survey*, vol. ii. pl. lxii. p. 153). The clay is even now of a red colour.

<sup>82</sup> "It is resplendent with divine brightness or glory."

<sup>83</sup> Julien translates it "this funereal monument," but the symbol *yung* means "lustrous," referring, no doubt, to the glory which surrounded the *stupa*.

<sup>84</sup> Urasha appears as the name of a city in the *Mahabharata* under the form Uraga (ii. 1027; and *Raghuv.* vi. 59), probably by a slip (see Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. ii. p. 155, n. 1); in the *Rajatarangini* (v. 216) it is Urasa, the capital of Urasha—mentioned in Panini (iv. 1, 154 and 178, and Urasa in iv. 2, 82, and iv. 3, 93). Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 45) calls the country *Arsa* or *Oarsa* and its towns *Ithagouros* and *Taxila* (v. 1. *Taxila*), placing it between the upper waters of the Bidaspes and Indus, that is, in the Hazara country. Conf. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 103; *J. A. S. Beng.*, vol. xvii. pt. ii. pp. 21, 283; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 175.

is 7 or 8 li in circuit; there is no king, but the country is dependent on Kashmir. The soil is fit for sowing and reaping, but there are few flowers or fruits. The air is soft and agreeable; there is very little ice or snow. The people have no refinement; the men are hard and rough in their disposition, and are much given to deceit. They do not believe in the religion of Buddha.

To the south-west of the capital 4 or 5 li is a *stupa* about 200 feet or so in height, which was built by Asoka-raja. By its side is a *sangharama*, in which there are but a few disciples, who study the Great Vehicle.<sup>85</sup>

Going south-east from this, crossing over mountains and treading along precipices, passing over chain bridges, after 1000 li or so, we come to the country of Kia-shi-mi-lo<sup>86</sup> (Kasmir).

#### KIA-SHI-MI-LO [KASMIR]

The kingdom of Kasmir<sup>87</sup> is about 7000 li in circuit, and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it. The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river. It (*the capital*) is from north to south 12 or 13 li, and from east to west 4 or 5 li. The soil is fit for producing cereals, and abounds with fruits and flowers. Here also are dragon-horses and the fragrant turmeric, the *fo-chu*,<sup>88</sup> and medicinal plants.

The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow but little wind. The people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They are light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. As the country is protected by a dragon, it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people. The

<sup>85</sup> Julien has "Little Vehicle."

<sup>86</sup> Formerly written Ki-pin by mistake.—*Ch. Ed.*

<sup>87</sup> Kasmir in early times appears to have been a kingdom of considerable extent. The old name is said to have been Kasyapapura, which has been connected with the *Kaspasuros* of Hekataois (*Fraz.* 179, and Steph. Byzant.), *polis Gandarike Sku:hon akte* said to have been in or near *Paktu:ke* and called *Kaopatnros* by Herodotus (lib. iii. c. 102, lib. iv. c. 44), from which Skylax started on his voyage down the Indus. Ptolemy has *Kaspeiria* and its capital *Kaspeira* (lib. vii. c. 1, 42, 47, 49; lib. viii. c. 26, 7), possibly for *Kasmeira*. The name *Kashmir* is the one used in the *Mahabharata*, Panini, &c. The character ascribed to the people by the Chinese pilgrim, is quite in accord with that given to them by modern travellers (see Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir*, vol. ii. p. 142 f.) For further information see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. pp. 50—53; and conf. Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 136 f.; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. p. 117; Koppen, *Die Relig. d. Buddha*, vol. ii. pp. 12 f. 78; Remusat, *Nouv. Mel. Asiat.*, tome i. p. 179; Vassilief, p. 40; J. A. S. Ben., vol. vii. p. 165, vol. xxv. pp. 91—123; Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i. pp. 177 f.; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, pp. 90 ff.; Troyer's *Rajatarangini*, tome ii. pp. 293 ff.; Humboldt's *Cent. Asien*, vol. i. p. 92. The "great river" is the Vitasta.

<sup>88</sup> Lentilles de verre.—Jul.

people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed. There are both heretics and believers among them. There are about 100 *sangharamas* and 5000 priests. There are four *stupas* built by Asokaraja. Each of these has about a pint measure of relics of Tathagata. The history of the country says : This country was once a dragon lake. In old times the Lord Buddha was returning to the middle kingdom (*India*) after subduing a wicked spirit in U-chang-na (Udyana), and when in mid-air, just over this country, he addressed Ananda thus : "After my *Nirvana*, the Arhat Madhyantika will found a kingdom in this land, civilise (*pacify*) the people, and by his own effort spread abroad the law of Buddha."

In the fiftieth year after the *Nirvana*, the disciple of Ananda, Madhyantika (Mo-t'ien-ti-kia) the Arhat—having obtained the six spiritual faculties<sup>89</sup> and been gifted with the eight *Vimokshas*<sup>90</sup>—heard of the prediction of Buddha. His heart was overjoyed, and he repaired to this country. He was sitting tranquilly in a wood on the top of a high mountain crag, and exhibited great spiritual changes. The dragon beholding it was filled with a deep faith, and requested to know what he desired. The Arhat said, "I request you to give me a spot in the middle of the lake just big enough for my knees."<sup>91</sup>

On this the dragon withdrew the water so far, and gave him the spot. Then by his spiritual power the Arhat increased the size of his body, whilst the dragon king kept back the waters with all his might. So the lake became dry, and the waters exhausted. On this the Naga, taking his flight, asked for a place.<sup>92</sup>

The Arhat (*then said*), "To the north-west of this is a pool about 100 li in circuit ; in this little lake you and your posterity may continue to dwell." The Naga said, "The lake and the land being mutually transferred, let me then be allowed to make my religious offerings to you." Madhyantika said, "Not long hence I shall enter on the *Nirvana* without remnants (*anupadhisesa*) ; although I should wish to allow your request, how can I do it ?" The Naga then pressed his request in this way : "May 500 Arhats then ever receive my offerings till the end of the law ?"<sup>93</sup> After which (*I ask to be allowed*) to return to this country to dwell (*in it*) as a lake." Madhyantika granted his request.

Then the Arhat, having obtained this land by the exercise of his great spiritual power, founded 500 *sangharamas*. He then set himself to procure by purchase from surrounding countries a

<sup>89</sup> *Shadabhipta*. See *ante*, note 73, Book II.

<sup>90</sup> See references in note 73, Book II.

<sup>91</sup> *i.e.*, to sit.

<sup>92</sup> This is an abrupt combination ; it means asked for a place "to live in."

<sup>93</sup> *i.e.*, till religion be done with.

number of poor people who might act as servitors to the priests. Madhyantika having died, these poor people constituted themselves rulers over the neighbouring countries. The people of surrounding countries despising these low-born men, would not associate with them, and called them Kritiyas<sup>94</sup> (Ki-li-to). The fountains now have begun to bubble up (*in token of the end of the law having come*).

In the hundredth year after the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, Asoka, king of Magadha, extended his power over the world, and was honoured even by the most distant people. He deeply revered the three gems, and had a loving regard for all living things.<sup>95</sup> At this time there were 500 Arhats and 500 schismatrical priests, whom the king honoured and patronised without any difference. Among the latter was a priest called Mahadeva, a man of deep learning and rare ability; in his retirement he sought a true renown; far thinking, he wrote treatises the principles of which were opposed to the holy doctrine. All who heard of him resorted to his company and adopted his views. Asoka-raja, not knowing either holy or common men,<sup>96</sup> and because he was naturally given to patronise those who were seditious, was induced to call together an assembly of priests to the banks of the Ganges, intending to drown them all.

At this time the Arhats having seen the danger threatening their lives, by the exercise of their spiritual power flew away through the air and came to this country and concealed themselves among the mountains and valleys. Asoka-raja having heard of it, repented, and confessing his fault, begged them to return to their own country; but the Arhats refused to do so with determination. Then Asoka-raja, for the sake of the Arhats, built 500 *sangharamas*, and gave this country as a gift to the priesthood.

In the four-hundredth year<sup>97</sup> after the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, Kanishka, king of Gandhara, having succeeded to the kingdom,

<sup>94</sup> In Chinese *Mai-te*, "bought people" (Sans. *krita*). In the *Vishnu Purana* it is said that "unregenerate tribes, barbarians and other Sudras, will rule over the banks of the Indus and the regions of the Darvika, of the Chandrabhaga and of Kashmira" (Wilson, in Hall's ed., vol. iv. p. 223), and the *Bhagavata* has a similar statement, calling the "unregenerate" "other outcasts not enlightened by the *Vedas*" (*ib.* p. 224). See Note 119 *infra*.

<sup>95</sup> *Sse-sing*, the four *varna* or castes, or the four classes of living beings, according to the Chinese, produced (1) from eggs, (2) embryos (animals and men), (3) moisture, and (4) by transformation.

<sup>96</sup> I.e., the difference between them.

<sup>97</sup> That is, 300 years after Asoka (B.C. 263—224), or about A.D. 75. Hiuen Tsiang places Asoka only 100 years after Buddha, while in Asoka's own inscriptions the Teacher is placed 221 years before the first of Asoka's reign. The *Avadana Sataka* supports this, placing the king two hundred years after Buddha. Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 149 f.; Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 385; Max Muller's *India*, &c., p. 306.

his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote within his jurisdiction. During his intervals of duty he frequently consulted the sacred books of Buddha; daily he invited a priest to enter his palace and preach the law, but he found the different views of the schools so contradictory that he was filled with doubt, and he had no way to get rid of his uncertainty. At this time the honoured Parsva said, "Since Tathagata left the world many years and months have elapsed. The different schools hold to the treatises of their several masters. Each keeps to his own views, and so the whole body is torn by divisions."

The king having heard this, was deeply affected and gave way to sad regrets. After a while he spoke to Parsva and said, "Though of no account personally, yet, thanks to the remnant of merit which has followed me through successive births since the time of the Holy One till now, I have come to my present state. I will dare to forget my own low degree, and hand down in succession the teaching of the law unimpaired. I will therefore arrange the teaching of the three *pitakas* of Buddha according to the various schools." The honourable Parsva replied, "The previous merit of the great king has resulted in his present distinguished position."<sup>98</sup> That he may continue to love the law of Buddha is what I desire above all things.

The king then summoned from far and near a holy assembly (*issued an edict to assemble the holy teachers*).

On this they came together from the four quarters, and, like stars, they hurried together for myriads of li, men the most distinguished for talents and for holiness of life. Being thus assembled, for seven days offerings of the four necessary things were made, after which, as the king desired that there should be an arrangement of the law, and as he feared the clamour of such a mixed assembly (*would prevent consultation*), he said, with affection for the priests, "Let those who have obtained the holy fruit (*as Arhats*) remain, but those who are still bound by worldly influences<sup>99</sup> let them go!" Yet the multitude was too great. He then published another order : "Let those who have arrived at the condition of 'freedom from study' remain, and those who are still in a condition of learners go."<sup>100</sup> Still there were a great multitude who remained. On this the king issued another edict : "Those who are in possession of the three enlightenments and

<sup>98</sup> Literally, "the great king in previous conditions (*suh*) having planted a good root—or, the root of virtue—has in consequence attained much happiness or merit."

<sup>99</sup> The world-influences or bonds refer to the *klesas*. The five *klesas* are (1) desire, (2) hate, (3) ignorance, (4) vanity, (5) heresy. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 443 f. Or the reference may be to the five *niraranas*, for which see Childress, *Pali Dict.* sub voc.

<sup>100</sup> In a note on this passage Julien explains that the first class, *Wu-hio*, designates the Arhats; the second, *Hio-jin*, those studying to become Sramanas.

have the six spiritual faculties<sup>101</sup> may remain ; the others can go."<sup>102</sup> And yet there was a great multitude who remained. Then he published another edict : "Let those who are acquainted both with the three *Pitakas* and the five *vidyas*<sup>103</sup> remain ; as to others, let them go." Thus there remained 499 men. Then the king desired to go to his own country,<sup>104</sup> as he suffered from the heat and moisture of this country. He also wished to go to the stone-grot<sup>105</sup> at Rajagriha, where Kasyapa had held his religious assembly (*convocation*). The honourable Parsva and others then counselled him, saying, "We cannot go there, because there are many heretical teachers there, and different *sastras* being brought under consideration, there will be clamour and vain discussion. Without having right leisure for consideration, what benefit will there be in making (*fresh*) treatises ?"<sup>106</sup> The mind of the assembly is well affected towards this country ; the land is guarded on every side by mountains, the Yakshas defend its frontiers, the soil is rich and productive, and it is well provided with food. Here both saints and sages assemble and abide ; here the spiritual Rishis wander and rest."

The assembly having deliberated, they came to this resolution : "We are willing to fall in with the wishes of the king." On this, with the Arhats, he went from the spot where they had deliberated to another, and there founded a monastery, where they might hold an assembly (*for the purpose of arranging*) the Scriptures and composing the *Vibhasha Sastra*.<sup>107</sup>

At this time the venerable Vasumitra (Shi-Yu) was putting on his robes outside the door (*about to enter*) when the Arhats addressed him and said, "The bonds of sin (the *klesas*) not loosed, then all discussion is contradictory and useless. You had better go, and not dwell here."

On this Vasumitra answered, "The wise without doubt regard

<sup>101</sup> For the *trividyas* and the *shadabhiijnas* see *ante*, n. 73 and 75, Book II and note 66, Book III.

<sup>102</sup> There is a phrase here used, *tsz' chu*, of frequent occurrence in Buddhist books. It means, "with these exceptions"—*his exceptis*.

<sup>103</sup> The five *vidyas* (*Wu-ming*) are (1) *Sabdavidya*, the treatise on grammar ; (2) *Adhyatmavidya*, the treatise on inner principles or esoteric doctrines ; (3) *Chikitsavidya*, the treatise on medicine, magic formulas, and occult science (Eitel) ; (4) *Hetuvidya*, the treatise on causes ; (5) *Silap-sthanavidya*, the treatise on the sciences, astronomy, meteorology, and mechanical arts. See *ante*, Book II, note 24.

<sup>104</sup> So I translate it. Literally it would be "the king had a desire for his own country ;" i.e., for the highlands of Gandhara.

<sup>105</sup> The phrase may mean a stone, i.e., structural, house ; or a stone chamber—a cave. It is generally supposed to have been a cave—the Saptaparna cave.

<sup>106</sup> Or, what use in holding discussions ?

<sup>107</sup> This passage, which is unusually confused, may be translated also thus : "On this he went with the Arhats from that place, and came (*to a place where*) he founded a monastery and collected the three *Pitakas*. Being about to compose the *Pi-p'o-sha-lun* (*Vibhasha Sastra*), then," &c.

the law in the place of<sup>108</sup> Buddha, appointed for the conversion of the world, and therefore you<sup>109</sup> reasonably desire to compile true (*orthodox*) *sastras*. As for myself, though not quick, yet in my poor way I have investigated the meaning of words. I have also studies with earnestness the obscure literature of the three *pitakas* and the recondite meaning of the five *vidyas*; and I have succeeded in penetrating their teaching,<sup>110</sup> dull as I am."

The Arhats answered, "It is impossible; but if it is as you say, you can stand by a little and presently get the condition of 'past learning.' Then you can enter the assembly; at present your presence is not possible."

Vasumitra answered, "I care for the condition of 'past learning' as little as for a drop of spittle; my mind seeks only the fruit of Buddha;<sup>111</sup> I do not run after little quests [*little sideways*]. I will throw this ball up into the air, and before it comes to earth I shall have got the holy condition [*fruit*] of 'past learning'."

Then all the Arhats roundly scolded him, saying, "'Intolerably arrogant' is your right title. The fruit of 'past learning' is the condition praised by all the Buddhas. You are bound to acquire this condition and scatter the doubts of the assembly."

Then Vasumitra cast the ball into the air; it was arrested by the Devas, who, before it fell, asked him this question: "In consequence of obtaining the fruit of Buddha, you shall succeed Maitreya in his place (*in the Tushita heaven*); the three worlds shall honour you, and the four kinds of creatures (*all flesh*) shall look up to you with awe. Why then do you seek this little fruit?"

Then the Arhats, having witnessed all this, confessed their fault, and with reverence asked him to become their president. All difficulties that occurred in their discussion were referred to him for settlement. These five hundred sages and saints first composed in ten myriads of verses the *Upadesa Sastra* to explain the *Sutra Pitaka*.<sup>112</sup> Next they made in ten myriads of verses the *Vinaya Vibhasha Sastra* to explain the *Vinaya Pitaka*; and

<sup>108</sup> That is, taking the place of, or standing in the stead of, Buddha.

<sup>109</sup> The assembly or convocation desires &c. Or it may be translated thus: "Having collected the general, or right sense, you are now about to compose an orthodox treatise" (i.e., the *Vibhasha Sastra*).

<sup>110</sup> This at least seems to be the sense of the passage, but the force of the phrase *ch'in in* is doubtful.

<sup>111</sup> That is, I seek only the condition of a Buddha.

<sup>112</sup> This definition of the *Upadesa (U-po-ti-sho) Sastra*, viz., a treatise to explain the *Sutra Pitaka (Su-ta-la-t' sang)*, confirms the explanation generally given of the whole class of works so named. Burnouf (*Introd. Bud. Ind.*, p. 58) regards the term as equivalent to "instruction" or "explanation of esoteric doctrine." In Nepal the word is applied to the Tantra portion of the Buddhist writings. It is also used as an equivalent for *Abhidharma*. The *Upadesa* class of books is the twelfth in the duodecimal division of the Northern School (Eitel, *Hand-book*, s. voc.)

afterwards they made in ten myriad of verses the *Abhidharma Vibhasha Sastra*<sup>113</sup> to explain the *Abhidharma Pitaka*. Altogether they composed thirty myriad of verses in six hundred and sixty myriad of words, which thoroughly explained the three *Pitakas*. There was no work of antiquity<sup>114</sup> to be compared with (placed above) their productions; from the deepest to the smallest question, they examined all,<sup>115</sup> explaining all minute expressions, so that their work has become universally known and is the resource of all students who have followed them.

Kanishka-raja forthwith ordered these discourses to be engraved on sheets of red copper. He enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and having sealed this, he raised over it a *stupa* with the Scriptures in the middle. He commanded the Yakshas<sup>116</sup> to defend the approaches to the kingdom, so as not to permit the other sets to get these *sastras* and take them away, with the view that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruit of this labour.<sup>117</sup>

Having finished this pious labour, he returned with his army to his own capital.<sup>118</sup>

Having left this country by the western gate, he turned towards the east and fell on his knees, and again bestowed all this kingdom on the priesthood.

After Kanishka's death the Kritiya race again assumed the government, banished the priests, and overthrew religion.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>113</sup> 'O-pi-ta-mo-pi-po-sha-lun. This work is generally called the *Abhidharma-mahavibhasha Sastra*. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsiang. It is said to be a commentary on Katyayaniputra's *Jnana-prasthana Sastra*, belonging to the Sarvastivada class of books. It is in, forty-three chapters (*vargas*), and consists of 438, 449 Chinese characters. See Bunyin Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1263.

<sup>114</sup> Thousand ancient; but is *tsien* an error?

<sup>115</sup> Literally, "branches and leaves were investigated; shallow and deep places fathomed."

<sup>116</sup> The Yakshas are supernatural beings employed to guard treasure or keep the way to a treasure. Sometimes they are regarded as malevolent beings, but not so necessarily. See General Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 20ff. They are represented in this work as keeping the four gates of the *stupa*.

<sup>117</sup> "With a view that they who wished to study them should in the country (*chung*) receive instruction." I cannot follow M. Julien's translation. He seems to regard the *stupa* as a *sangharama* or convent in which instruction was given; and he makes Kanishka give himself to study.

<sup>118</sup> That is, to the capital of Gandhara.

<sup>119</sup> "The law of Buddha." The Kritiyas or Krityas are defined to be "demons who dig out corpses," or explained as "serfs" (persons bought, *krita*). They are said to be either Yakshakrityas or Manushakrityas, the former being shaped like Yakshas, the latter like human beings. The Manushakrityas were those domestic slaves whom Madhyantika introduced into Kashmir (Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.) See also Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 93; and *ante*, note 94, Book III.

The king of Himatala,<sup>120</sup> of the country of To-hu-lo (Tukhara), was by descent of the Sakya race.<sup>121</sup> In the six-hundredth year after the *Nirvana* of Buddha, he succeeded to the territory of his ancestor, and his heart was deeply imbued with affection for the law of Buddha.<sup>122</sup> Hearing that the Kritiyas had overthrown the law of Buddha, he assembled in his land the most warlike (*courageous*) of his knights, to the number of three thousand, and under the pretence of being merchants laden with many articles of merchandise and with valuable goods, but having secretly concealed on their persons warlike instruments, they entered on this kingdom, and the king of the country received them as his guests with special honour. He<sup>123</sup> then selected five hundred of these, men of great courage and address, and armed them with swords and provided them with choice merchandise to offer to the king.

Then the king of Himatala, flinging off his cap,<sup>124</sup> proceeded towards the throne; the king of the Kritiyas, terrified, was at a loss what to do. Having cut off the king's head, (*the king of Himatala*) said to the officers standing below, "I am the king of Himatala, belonging to Tukhara. I was grieved because this low-caste ruler practised such outrages; therefore I have to-day punished his crimes; but as for the people, there is no fault to be found with them." Having banished the ministers in charge of the government to other states and pacified this country, he commanded the priests to return, and built a *sangharama*, and there settled them as in old time. Then he left the kingdom by the western gate (*pass*), and when outside he bowed down with his face to the east, and gave in charity to the priesthood (*the kingdom*).

As for the Kritiyas, as they had more than once been put down by the priests and their religion overturned, in lapse of time their enmity had increased so that they hated the law of Buddha. After some years they came again into power. This is the reason why at the present time this kingdom is not much given to the faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought.

<sup>120</sup> Himatala, defined in the text as *Sue-shan-hia*, "under the snowy mountains" (see *ante*, p. 107, n. 139).

<sup>121</sup> He was descended from one of the Sakya youths who were driven from their country for resisting the invasion of Virudhaka, the account of which will be found in the sixth book. Hiuen Tsiang's date places him about 280 A.D. (note 97, *ante*).

<sup>122</sup> "He planted his heart in the law of Buddha, and the streams of his affection flowed into the sea of the law."

<sup>123</sup> That is, the king of Himatala.

<sup>124</sup> If the symbol in the text is intended for *ch'hang*, it should be translated "flinging away his robe," that is, the robe (or web of rich cloth) that concealed the sword. If it be *maou*, then it would be "flinging away his cap."

About 10 li to the south-east of the new city and to the north of the old city,<sup>125</sup> and on the south of a great mountain, is a *sangharama* with about 300 priests in it. In the *stupa* (*attached to the convent*) is a tooth of Buddha in length about an inch and a half, of a yellowish-white colour; on religious days it emits a bright light. In old days the Kritiya race having destroyed the law of Buddha, the priests being dispersed, each one selected his own place of abode. On this occasion one Sramana, wandering throughout the Indies to visit and worship the relics of Buddha (*traces of the Holy One*) and to exhibit his sincere faith, after a while came to hear that his native country was pacified and settled. Forthwith he set out on his return, and on his way he met with a herd of elephants rushing athwart his path through the jungle and raising a trumpeting tumult. The Sramana having seen them, climbed up a tree to get out of their way; then the herd of elephants rushed down to drink<sup>126</sup> at a pool and to cleanse themselves with the water; then surrounding the tree, they tore its roots, and by force dragged it to the ground. Having got the Sramana, they put him on the back of one, and hurried off to the middle of a great forest, where was a sick elephant wounded (*swollen with a sore*), and lying on the ground at rest. Taking the hand of the priest, it directed it to the place of the hurt, where a rotten (*broke*) piece of bamboo had penetrated. The Sramana thereupon drew out the splinter and applied some medicinal herbs, and tore up his garment to bind the foot with it. Another elephant taking a gold casket, brought it to the sick elephant, who having received it gave it forthwith to the Sramana. The Sramana opening it, found in the inside Buddha's tooth. Then all the elephants surrounding him, he knew not how to get away. On the morrow, being a fast-day, each elephant brought him some fruit for his mid-day meal. Having finished eating, they carried the priest out of the forest a long way (*some hundred li*), and then they set him down, and, after salutation paid, they each retired.

The Sramana coming to the western borders of the country, crossed a rapid river; whilst so doing the boat was nearly over-

<sup>125</sup> General Cunningham says Abu Rihan calls the capital Adishtan, which is the Sanskrit *Adhishtana* or "chief town;" and that is the present city of Srinagar, which was built by Raja Pravarasena about the beginning of the sixth century, and was therefore a comparatively new place at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit. The "old capital" was about two miles to the south-east of Takht-i-Suliman, and is now called Pandrethan, a Kashmiri corruption of Puranadhishtana, or "the old chief city."—*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 93. Conf. Troyer's *Rātarangini*, tome i. p. 104, the t. iii. pp. 336—357; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. p. 19; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii. p. 912. The mountain is Hariparvata or Horparvat, now Takht-i-Suliman.

<sup>126</sup> Not to drink, but to draw in the water and use it for cooling themselves.

whelmed, when the men, consulting together, said, "The calamity that threatens the boat is owing to the Sramana; he must be carrying some relics of Buddha, and the dragons have coveted them."

The master of the ship having examined (*his goods*), found the tooth of Buddha. Then the Sramana, raising up the relic, bowed his head, and called to the Nagas and said, "I now intrust this to your care; not long hence I will come again and take it." Then declining to cross the river,<sup>127</sup> he returned to the bank and departed. Turning to the river he sighed and said, "Not knowing how to restrain these Naga creatures has been the cause of my calamity." Then going back to India, he studied the rules of restraining dragons, and after three years he returned towards his native country, and having come to the river-side he built and appointed there an altar. Then the Nagas brought the casket of Buddha's tooth and gave it to the Sramana; the Sramana took it and brought it to this *sangharama* and henceforth worshipped it.

Fourteen or fifteen li to the south of the *sangharama* is a little *sangharama* in which is a standing figure of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. If any one vows to fast till he dies unless he beholds this Bodhisattva, immediately from the image it comes forth glorious in appearance.

South-east of the little *sangharama* about 30 li or so, we come to a great mountain, where there is an old (*ruined*) *sangharama*, of which the shape is imposing and the masonry strong. But now it is in ruins; there is only left one angle where there is a small double tower. There are thirty priests or so, who study the Great Vehicle. This is where of old Sanghabhadra, a writer of *sastras*, composed the *Shun-ching-li-lun*<sup>128</sup> (*Nyayanusara Sastra*); on the left and the right of the *sangharama* are stupas where are enshrined the relics (*sariras*) of great Arhats. The wild beasts and mountain apes gather flowers to offer as religious oblations. Throughout the year they continue these offerings without interruption, as if it were a traditional service. Many miraculous circumstances occur in this mountain. Sometimes a stone barrier is split across; sometimes on the mountain-top there remain the traces of a horse; but all things of this sort are only mistaken traces of the Arhats and Sramaneras, who in troops frequent this spot, and with their fingers trace these figures, as

<sup>127</sup> That is, he did not land on the other side, but went back in the boat.

<sup>128</sup> The *sastra* composed by Sengkia-po-t'o-lo (Sanghabhadra) was called in the first instance *Kiu-sha-po-lun*, or "the *sastra* which destroys the *kosha* like hail" (*karaka*). This title was employed to denote the power of the treatise to overturn the *Abhidharma-kosha Sastra* composed by Vasubandhu. The title was afterwards changed by Vasubandhu himself to *Nyayanusara Sastra* (*Shun-ching-li-lun*). See Book iv. *infra*.

if riding on horses or going to and fro (*on foot*), and this has led to the difficulty in explaining these marks.<sup>129</sup>

Ten li to the east of the *sangharama* of Buddha's tooth, between the crags of a mountain to the north,<sup>130</sup> is a small *sangharama*. In old days the great master of *sastras* called So-kin-ta-lo (Skandhila) composed here the treatise called *Chung-sse-fan-pi-p'o-sha*.<sup>131</sup>

In the little convent is a *stupa* of stone about 50 feet high, where are preserved the *sariras* of the bequeathed body of an Arhat.

In former times there was an Arhat whose bodily size was very great, and he ate and drank as an elephant. People said in raillery, "He knows well enough how to eat like a glutton, but what does he know of truth or error?" The Arhat, when about to pass to *Nirvana*, addressing the people round him, said, "Not long hence I shall reach a condition of *anupadhisesa* (*without a remnant*)."<sup>132</sup> I wish to explain how I have attained to the excellent law."<sup>133</sup> The people hearing him again laughed together in ridicule. They all came together in an assembly to see him put to shame.<sup>134</sup> Then the Arhat spoke thus to the people : "I will tell you how, for your advantage, my previous conditions of life and the causes thereof. In my former birth I received, because of my desert, the body of an elephant, and I dwelt in Eastern India, in the stable of a king. At this time this country possessed a Shaman who went forth to wander through India in search of the holy doctrine of Buddha, the various *sutras* and *sastras*. Then the king gave me to the Shaman. I arrived in this country carrying on my back the books of Buddha. Not long after this I died suddenly. The merit I had obtained by carrying these sacred books eventuated in my being born as a man, and then again I died as a mortal."<sup>135</sup> But, thanks to

<sup>129</sup> This passage, which is obscure, seems to mean that the Sramaneras who follow the Arhats, or the Sramaneras who are Arhats (for it appears from one of Asvaghosha's sermons (*Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 120) that a Sramanera may arrive at this condition), amuse themselves by tracing figures of horses on the rocks, and therefore such traces have no meaning beyond this.

<sup>130</sup> That is, as it seems, a range of mountains called the *Northern Range*.

<sup>131</sup> Restored by Julien to *Vibhasha-prakarana-pada Sastra*. Conf. *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv. tom. xiv. No. 713; Bunyiu Nanjo's *Catalogue*, Nos. 1277 and 1292.

<sup>132</sup> *Wou-yu-ni-pan*, that is, a condition of freedom from the *skandhas*. Childer (*Pali Dict.*, p. 526). It means perfect or complete *Nirvana*. See below, note 135.

<sup>133</sup> I wish to relate the steps (*groundwork*) by which this body (*i.e.*, *I myself*) arrived at this excellent condition, *or law*.

<sup>134</sup> Julien regards this phrase (*teh shih*) as equivalent to "success or non-success." It seems, however, more agreeable to the context to translate it as here—to see him "get loss," *i.e.*, disgraced.

<sup>135</sup> I died "with remains;" that is, I died, but was destined to be

the merit I possessed, I soon (*was born in the same condition, and*) assumed the coloured clothes of a hermit. I diligently set after the means of putting off (*the shackles of existence*), and gave myself no repose. Thus I obtained the six supernatural powers and cut off my connection with the three worlds. However, when I eat I have preserved my old habits, but every day I moderate my appetite, and only take one-third of what my body requires as nourishment." Although he thus spoke, men were still incredulous. Forthwith he ascended into the air and entered on the *Samadhi* called *the brilliancy of flame*. From his body proceeded smoke and fire,<sup>136</sup> and thus he entered *Nirvana*; his remains (*bones*) fell to the earth, and they raised a *stupa* over them.

Going north-west 200 li or so of the royal city, we come to the *sangharama* called "Mai-lin."<sup>137</sup> It was here the master of *sastras* called Purna<sup>138</sup> composed a commentary on the *Vibhasha Sastra*.

To the west of the city 140 or 150 li there is a great river, on the borders of which, to the north, resting on the southern slope of a mountain, is a *sangharama* belonging to the Mahasamghika (Ta-chong-pu) school, with about 100 priests. It was here in old time that Fo-ti-la (Bodhila),<sup>139</sup> a master of *sastras*, composed the treatise *Tsih-chin-lun*.<sup>140</sup>

From this going south-west, and crossing some mountains and traversing many precipices, going 700 li or so, we come to the country Pun-nu-tso (Punach).

#### PUN-NU-TSO [PUNACH]

This kingdom<sup>141</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit, with many mountains and river-courses, so that the arable land is very contracted. The seed is sown, however, at regular intervals, and there are a quantity of flowers and fruits. There are many sugar-canies, but

reborn, not having got rid of the *skandhas*, or "conditions of individual existence." In Note 132 above, we find just the opposite phrase, "*Wou yu*," i.e., "without remains." Julien has omitted this passage.

<sup>136</sup> This kind of miracle is frequently named in Buddhist books. See *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 1353 ff.

<sup>137</sup> I adopt *mai lin* from Julien. In my text the symbol appears to be *shang*, but there may be a misprint. Julien doubtfully restores *mai-lin* to *Vikritavana*.

<sup>138</sup> In Chinese, Yuen-mun.

<sup>139</sup> I have adopted this restoration from Julien. The Chinese symbols might also be restored to Buddhatara.

<sup>140</sup> The *Tsih-chin-lun* is restored by Julien doubtfully to *Tarvasan-chaya Sastra*. This treatise belonged to the Mahasanghika collection.

<sup>141</sup> Punacha, or Punach, is described by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, 128) as a small state, called Punats by the Kashmiris, bounded on the west by the Jhelam, on the north by the Pir Panchal range, and on the east and south-east by the small state of Rajauri.

no grapes. Amalas,<sup>142</sup> Udumbaras, Mochas, &c., flourish, and are grown in large quantities like woods; they are prized on account of their taste. The climate is warm and damp. The people are brave. They wear ordinarily cotton clothing. The disposition of the people is true and upright; they are Buddhists.<sup>143</sup> There are five *sangharamas*, mostly deserted. There is no independent ruler, the country being tributary to Kashmir. To the north of the chief town is a *sangharama* with a few priests. Here there is a *stupa* which is celebrated for its miracles.

Going south-east from this 400 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rajapuri).

#### HO-LO-SHE-PU-LO [RAJAPURI]

This kingdom<sup>144</sup> is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital town is about 10 li round. It is naturally very strong, with many mountains, hills, and river-courses, which cause the arable land to be contracted. The produce therefore is small. The climate and the fruits of the soil are like those of Pun-nu-tso. The people are quick and hasty; the country has no independent ruler, but is subject to Kashmir. There are ten *sangharamas*, with a very small number of priests. There is one temple of Devas, with an enormous number of unbelievers.

From the country of Lan-po till this, the men are of a coarse appearance, their disposition fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and uncultivated, with scarce any manners or refinement. They do not properly belong to India, but are frontier people, with barbarous habits.

Going south-east from this, descending the mountains and crossing a river, after 700 li we come to the kingdom of Tsih-kia (Takka).

<sup>142</sup> An-mo-lo is *Myrobalan emblica*, and Meu-che; the plantain.

<sup>143</sup> They have faith in the three gems.

<sup>144</sup> Identified by Cunningham with the petty chiefship of Rajauri or Rajapuri, south of Kashmir and south-east of Punach (*op. cit.*, p. 129).

## BOOK IV

*Relates to fifteen countries, viz., (1) Tseh-kia; (2) Chi-na-po-ti; (3) Che-lan-t'o-lo; (4) K'iu-lu-to; (5) She-to-t'u-lo; (6) Po-li-ye-to-lo; (7) Mo-t'u-lo; (8) Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo; (9) Su-lo-kin-na; (10) Mo-ti-pu-lo; (11) Po-lo-ki-mo-pu-lo; (12) Kiu-pi-shwong-na; (13) 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo; (14) Pi-lo-shan-na; (15) Kie-pi-ta.*

### 1. KINGDOM OF TSEH-KIA [TAKKA]

This kingdom<sup>1</sup> is about 10,000 li in circuit. On the east it borders on the river Pi-po-che (Vipasa);<sup>2</sup> on the west it borders on the Sin-tu river. The capital of the country is about 20 li in circuit. The soil is suitable for rice and produces much late-sown corn. It also produces gold, silver, the stone called *teou*,<sup>3</sup> copper and iron. The climate is very warm, and the land is subject to hurricanes. The people are quick and violent, their language coarse and uncultivated. For clothing they wear a very shining white fabric which they call *kiau-che-ye* (*Kauseya*, silk), and also morning-red cloth (*chau hia*),<sup>4</sup> and other kinds. Few

<sup>1</sup> Takkadesa, the country of the Bahikas, is named in the *Rajatarangini* (v. 150), and said to be a part of the kingdom of Gurjara, which Raja Alakhana was obliged to cede to Kashmir between the years 883 A.D. and 901 A.D. (Cunningham, *Geog.*, 149). The Takkas were a powerful tribe living near the Chenab, and were at one time the undisputed lords of the Punjab. The kingdom of Tsih-kia is probably, therefore, that of the Takkas. *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 108f.; Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 973. Julien restores it to Tcheka. It seems that Hiuen Tsiang kept to the south-west from Rajapuri, and crossed the Chenab after two days' march near the small town of Jammu or Jambu (perhaps the Jayapura of Hwui-lih), and then pressed on the next day to the town of Sakala, where he arrived the day after. The distance would thus be about 700 li, or 140 miles (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.*, map vi., compared with Elphinstone's map (*India*); on this last map the trade route is so marked). In the translation of Hwui-lih, M. Julien has made the distance from Rajapuri to Tcheka to be 200 li (p. 96); it should be 700 li, as in the original. He has also translated *how jih* by to-morrow (lendemain), instead of *the day after the morrow*.

<sup>2</sup> The Vipasa or Vipat, the Biyas river, the most eastern of the five rivers of the Punjab, the Hyphasis (*Uphasis*) of Arrian (*Anab.* lib. vi. c. 8, *Ind.*, cc. 2, 3, 4; Diodorus, lib. xvii. c. 93). Pliny (lib. vii. c. 17, 21) and Curtius (lib. ix. c. 1) call it Hypasis, and Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 26, 27) has Bibasis while Strabo has *Upanis*. It rises in the Himalaya, and, after a course of about 220 miles, joins the Satlaj south-east of Amritsar.

<sup>3</sup> The *teou-shih*, of which such frequent mention is made by Hiuen Tsiang, is said to be a compound of equal parts of copper and calamine (silicate of zinc). See Julien in *loc.* n. 2. Medhurst (*Dict. s. v.*) calls it "native copper."

<sup>4</sup> The *chau-hia* robe. This may mean either court-red or morning-

of them believe in Buddha ; many sacrifice to the heavenly spirits (*Devas and spirits*). There are about ten *sangharamas* and some hundreds of temples. There were formerly in this country many houses of charity (*goodness or happiness—Punyasalas*) for keeping the poor and the unfortunate. They provided for the n medicine and food, clothing and necessaries ; so that travellers were never badly off.

To the south-west of the capital about 14 or 15 li we come to the old town of Sakala<sup>5</sup> (*She-kie-lo*). Although its walls are thrown down, the foundations are still firm and strong. It is about 20 li in circuit. In the midst of it they have built a little town of about 6 or 7 li in circuit ; the inhabitants are prosperous and rich. This was the old capital of the country. Some centuries ago there was a king called Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo (Mahira-

red ; it may refer to its colour, but more probably to its lightness. We should have expected a phonetic combination in this name, as in the preceding, viz., *Kauseya*, but *chau-hia* has no phonetic value, although it might be compared with the Sanskrit *suksh* (*ma*).

<sup>5</sup> Sakala. Panini (iv. 2, 75) has Sankala, the *Saggala* of Arrian (*Anab. Alex.*, lib. v. c. 22), and probably the same place as Ptolemy (*lib. vii. c. i. cp.*) designates by *Sagala e kai Euthudemia*. Sakala occurs in the *Mahabharata* (ii. 1196, viii. 2033) as the capital of the Madras. Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 559f.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i. pp. 22f.; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, pp. 196f.; *As. Res.*, vol. xv. pp. 107f.; *J.A.S. Ben.*, vol. vi. pp. 57f.; Lassen, *Zeitsch. f. d. K. d. Morg.*, vol. i. p. 353, vol. iii. pp. 154f., 212; *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 801. Sakala has been identified by General Cunningham with Sanglawala-Tiba, to the west of the Ravi (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 180). The capital of the country is not named by Hiuen Tsiang. It appears from Hwui-lih that the pilgrim went straight to Sakala, and did not visit the capital. He places it 14 or 15 li to the north-east of Sakala. Although the route taken is differently described in "the Life" and in the *Si-yu-ki*, yet in the main it is sufficiently clear. After leaving Rajapuri the pilgrim travels south-west for two days, and, crossing the Chenab, he lodged for one night in a temple belonging to the heretics just outside Jayapura. The second day after leaving this town (direction not given) he arrived at Sakala. Proceeding a little way to the east-ward of a town called Narasimha (the situation of which is not given, but was probably a short distance east of Sakala), he was robbed by brigands and lodged in a neighbouring village ; starting from which on the next day, he passed the frontiers of the kingdom of Takka, and reached a large town with many thousand inhabitants. This was probably Lahore, the old Lohawar (the Ravi was evidently the boundary *de facto* of *Takka*). He remained here one month, and then proceeding eastward, he arrived at the capital of a country Chinapati, 500 li from Sakala. This was probably the large old town of Patti, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river. About 10 miles south-west of this (the *Si-yu-ki* has 500 li by mistake for 50) was a monastery ; this would place us at the point of the confluence of the Biyas and Satlaj rivers. The question to be settled is whether at this point there is a mountain or a hill round which for a distance of 20 li monasteries and *stupas* could be grouped. General Cunningham speaks of this neighbourhood as constituting the sandy bed of the Biyas river (*op. cit.*, p. 201). But, at any rate, such a situation agrees with the next measurement of 140 or 150 li to Jalandhar. We should thus have a total of 660 li (132 miles) eastward from Sakala to Jalandhara, which is as nearly as possible correct as projected on General Cunningham's map (*op. cit.* No. vi.)

kula),<sup>6</sup> who established his authority in this town and ruled over India. He was of quick talent, and naturally brave. He subdued all the neighbouring provinces without exception.<sup>7</sup> In his intervals of leisure he desired to examine the law of Buddha, and he commanded that one among the priests of superior talent<sup>8</sup> should wait on him. Now it happened that none of the priests dared to attend to his command. Those who had few desires and were content, did not care about distinction; those of superior learning and high renown despised the royal bounty (*glitter*). At this time there was an old servant in the king's household who had long worn the religious garments. He was of distinguished ability and able to enter on discussion, and was very eloquent. The priests put him forward in answer to the royal appeal. The king said, "I have a respect for the law of Buddha, and I invited from far any renowned priest (*to come and instruct me*), and now the congregation have put forward this servant to discuss with me. I always thought that amongst the priests there were men of illustrious ability; after what has happened to-day what further respect can I have for the priesthood?" He then issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining.

Baladitya<sup>9</sup>-raja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he

<sup>6</sup> For Mahirakula, see *ante*, Book iii. n. 1. The interpretation of the name is given by the Chinese editor as *Ta-tso*, i.e., "great tribe or family," but *mahira* or *mihira* signifies "the sun;" it should therefore be "the family of the sun."

<sup>7</sup> The kingdoms of the neighbouring districts all submitted to him.

<sup>8</sup> Or "eminent virtue;" but *tih* (virtue) refers to general gifts or endowments.

<sup>9</sup> Baladitya, explained by *yeou jih*, i.e., the young sun or the rising sun. Julien translates it too literally, "le soleil des enfants." Julien has observed and corrected the mistake in the note, where the symbol is *wan* for *yeou*. With respect to the date of Baladitya, who was contemporary with Mahirakula who put Simha, the twenty-third Buddhist patriarch, to death, we are told that he was a grandson of Buddhagupta (Hwui-lih, p. 150, Julien's trans.), and according to General Cunningham (*Archæolog Survey*, vol. ix. p. 21) Buddhagupta was reigning approximately A.D. 349, and his silver coins extend his reign to A.D. 368. His son was Tathagatagupta, and his successor was Baladitya. Allowing fifty years for these reigns, we arrive at 420 A.D. for the end, probably, of Baladitya's reign. This, of course, depends on the initial date of the Gupta period; if it is placed, as Dr. Oldenberg (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. x. p. 321) suggests, A.D. 319, then the reign of Buddhagupta will have to be brought down 125 years later, and he would be reigning 493 A.D.; in this case Baladitya would be on the throne too late for the date of Simha, who was certainly many years before Buddhadharma (the twenty-eighth patriarch), who reached China A.D. 520. The earlier date harmonises with the Chinese records, which state that a Life of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, was written by Kumarajiva A.D. 409, and also that a history of the patriarchs down to Simha, whom we place hypothetically about 420 A.D., was translated in China A.D. 472; both these statements are possible if the date proposed be given to Baladitya.

heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mahirakula (Ta-tso), he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mahirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Baladitya-raja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers, "I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them (*their troops*) ; by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass."

Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands<sup>10</sup> of the sea.

Mahirakula-raja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go attack Baladitya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mahirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence (*of Baladitya*).

The king Mahirakula being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Baladitya sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the king to uncover himself as he wished to speak with him.

Mahirakula answered, "The subject and the master have changed places ; that enemies should look on one another is useless ; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation ?"

Having given the order three times with no success, the king then ordered his crimes to be published, and said, "The field of religious merit connected with the three precious objects of reverence is a public<sup>11</sup> blessing ; but this you have overturned and destroyed like a wild beast. Your religious merit is over, and unprotected by fortune you are my prisoner. Your crimes admit of no extenuation and you must die."

At this time the mother of Baladitya was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes. Hearing that they were going to kill Mahirakula, she addressed Baladitya-raja and said, "I have understood that Mahirakula is of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. I should like to see him once."

Baladitya-raja (Yeou-jih) ordered them to bring in Mahirakula to the presence of his mother in her palace. Then she said, "Alas! Mahirakula, be not ashamed! Worldly things are impermanent ; success and discomfiture follow one another according to circumstances. I regard myself as your mother and

<sup>10</sup> It may be translated, "an island of the sea."

<sup>11</sup> Belonging to the world or creatures born in the world.

you as my son ; remove the covering from your face and speak to me."

Mahirakula said, "A little while ago I was prince of a victorious country, now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services;<sup>12</sup> I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance.<sup>13</sup> Therefore I hide my face with my mantle." The mother of the king said, "Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion ; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events (*things*), you are lost ; but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me, the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life."

Mahirakula, thanking her, said, "I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment ; for this reason I have lost my kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety." Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said, "My son is well-favoured;<sup>14</sup> he will die after his years are accomplished." Then she said to Baladitya, "In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mahirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country ; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north."

Then Baladitya-raja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom ; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

Mahirakula-raja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mahirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts, and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum. The king of Kashmir received him with honour, and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, and killed the

<sup>12</sup> The ancestral sacrifices.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps a better translation would be : "In truth I am ashamed ; whether I cast my eyes downward or upward, in heaven or earth I am unable to find deliverance."

<sup>14</sup> This is an obscure sentence ; Julien translates it "have a care for yourself : you must accomplish the term of your life."

king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne. Profiting by this victory and the renown it got him, he went to the west, plotting against the kingdom of Gandhara. He set some soldiers in ambush and took and killed the king. He exterminated the royal family and the chief minister, overthrew the *stupas*, destroyed the *sangharamas*, altogether one thousand six hundred foundations. Besides those whom his soldiers had killed there were nine hundred thousand whom he was about to destroy without leaving one. At this time all the ministers addressed him and said, "Great king! your prowess has gained a great victory, and our soldiers are no longer engaged in conflict. Now that you have punished the chief, why would you charge the poor people with fault? Let us, insignificant as we are, die in their stead."

The king said, "You believe in the law of Buddha and greatly reverence the mysterious law of merit. Your aim is to arrive at the condition of Buddha, and then you will declare fully, under the form of *Jatakas*,<sup>15</sup> my evil deeds, for the good of future generations. Now go back to your estates, and say no more on the subject."

Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the Sin-tu river; the same number of the middle rank he drowned in the river, and the same number of the third rank he divided among his soldiers (*as slaves*). Then he took the wealth of the country he had destroyed, assembled his troops, and returned. But before the year was out he died.<sup>16</sup> At the time of his death there was thunder and hail and a thick darkness; the earth shook and a mighty tempest raged. Then the holy saints said in pity, "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell,"<sup>17</sup> where he shall pass endless ages of revolution.<sup>18</sup>

In the old town of Sakala (She-ki-lo) is a *sangharama* with about 100 priests, who study the Little Vehicle. In old days Vasubandhu (Shi-t'sin) Bodhisattva composed in this place the treatise called *Shing-i-tai* (*Paramarthasatya Sastra*).

By the side of the convent is a *stupa* about 200 feet high;

<sup>15</sup> That is to say, when they had arrived at the condition of omniscience they would in future ages declare how Mahirakula was suffering under some form of birth or other, in consequence of his evil deeds. This was one of the methods of Buddha's teaching.

<sup>16</sup> The expression *tsu lo* means "to wither away like a falling leaf."

<sup>17</sup> The lowest hell is the Wu-kan-ti-yuh, the hell without interval (*avichi*), i.e., without interval of rest, a place of incessant torment. It is the lowest of the places of torment. See *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 59.

<sup>18</sup> This may also mean that his torments even then, i.e., after this punishment, would not be finished. The Buddhist idea of the suffering in *Avichi* was not connected with its eternal duration. See Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.

on this spot the four former Buddhas preached the law, and here again are the traces of their walking to and fro (*king-hing*).

To the north-west of the *sangharama* 5 or 6 li is a *stupa* about 200 feet high built by Asoka-raja. Here also the four past Buddhas preached.

About 10 li to the north-east of the new capital we come to a *stupa* of stone about 200 feet in height, built by Asoka. This is where Tathagata, when he was going northward on his work of conversion, stopped in the middle of the road. In the records of India (*In-tu-ki*) it is said, "In this *stupa* are many relics; on holidays they emit a bright light."

From this<sup>19</sup> going east 500 li or so, we come to Chi-na-po-ti (Chinapati) country.

### CHI-NA-PO-TI [CHINAPATI]<sup>20</sup>

This country is about 2000 li in circuit. The capital is about 14 or 15 li round. It produces abundant harvests;<sup>21</sup> the fruit trees are thinly scattered. The people are contented and peaceful; the resources of the country are abundant. The climate is hot and humid; the people are timid and listless. They are given to promiscuous study, and there are amongst them believers and the contrary. There are ten *sangharamas* and eight Deva temples.

Formerly, when Kanishka-raja was on the throne, his fame spread throughout the neighbouring countries, and his military power was recognised by all. The tributary princes<sup>22</sup> to the west of the (*Yellow*) River, in recognition of his authority, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-raja having received the hostages, he treated them with marked attention. During the three seasons of the year he appointed them separate establishments, and afforded them special guards of troops.<sup>23</sup> This country was the residence

<sup>19</sup> That is, from Sakala; not from the large city (Lahore) on the frontiers of Takka, as V. de St. Martin states (*Memoire*, p. 330).

<sup>20</sup> The country of Chinapati appears to have stretched from the Ravi to the Satlaj. General Cunningham places the capital at Chine or Chinigari, 11 miles north of Amritsar (*Arch. Survey*, vol. xiv, p. 54). This situation does not agree with the subsequent bearings and distances. It is, for example, some 60 miles (300 li) north-west from Sultanpur (Tamasavana) instead of 10 miles (50 li); moreover, Jalandhara bears south-east from Chine instead of north-east, and the distance is nearly 70 miles instead of 28 or 30. The situation of the large and very old town called Patti or Pati, 10 miles to the west of the Biyas river and 27 to the north-east of Kasur, appears to suit the measurements and bearings as nearly as possible (*Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 200). It is unfortunate, however, that the distances in General Cunningham's maps in the *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, and the volume of the *Arch. Survey* do not agree.

<sup>21</sup> Literally, sowing and reaping are rich and productive.

<sup>22</sup> I translate it thus after Julien, as there is some obscurity in the text. It might, perhaps, be rendered "the united tribes of the Fan people." The Fan were Tibetans or associated tribes.

<sup>23</sup> Literally, "four soldiers stood on guard," i.e., they had four soldiers outside their quarters to protect them.

of the hostages during the winter. This is the reason why it is called Chinapati,<sup>24</sup> after the name of the residence of the hostages.

There existed neither pear nor peach in this kingdom and throughout the Indies until the hostages planted them, and therefore the peach is called *Chinani*, and the pear is called *Chinarajaputra*.<sup>25</sup> For this reason the men of this country have a profound respect for the Eastern land. Moreover (*when they saw me*) they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."<sup>26</sup>

To the south-east of the capital 500<sup>27</sup> li or so, we come to the convent called Ta-mo-su-fa-na (*dark for.s.; i.e., Tamasavana*). There are about 300 priests in it, who study the doctrine of the Sarvastivada school. They (*the congregation*) have a dignified address, and are of conspicuous virtue and pure life. They are deeply versed in the teaching of the Little Vehicle. The 1000 Buddhas of the Bhadarakalpa will explain, in this country, to the assembly of the Devas the principles of the excellent law.

Three hundred years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha the master of *sastras* called Katyayana composed here the *Fa-chi-lun* (*Abhidharmajnana-prasthana Sastra*).<sup>28</sup>

In the convent of the *dark forest* there is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was erected by Asoka-raja. By its side are traces of the four past Buddhas, where they sat and walked. There is a succession of little *stupas* and large stone houses facing one another, of an uncertain number; here, from the beginning of the kalpa till now, saints who have obtained the

<sup>24</sup> Rendered in a note "*Tang fung*, i.e., "lord of China;" this seems to show that *Pati* is the right restoration of *po-ti* (compare Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. of India*, vol. xiv. p. 54). The fact of the name *China* being given to this country on account of the hostages confirms the restoration of *Charaka* to *Serika*, *ante*, Book I, n. 203.

<sup>25</sup> Cunningham remarks that there can be no doubt of the introduction of the *China* peach, as in the north-west of India it is still known by that name (*op. cit.*, p. 54).

<sup>26</sup> That is, of Kanishka and his associates. They belonged to the Gushan tribe of the *Yuei-chi*, who came originally from the borders of *China*. See *ante*, Book I, n. 200.

<sup>27</sup> In the life of Hiuen Tsiang by Hwui-lih, the distance given from the capital of Chinapati to the convent of "the dark forest" is 50 li (Book ii. p. 102, Julien's translation). This is probably the correct distance: the 500 li in the text is an error of the copyist. The convent is fixed by General Cunningham at Sultanpur or Dalla Sultanpur. It is one of the largest towns in the Jalandhara Doab (*op. cit.*, p. 55).

<sup>28</sup> This work was translated into Chinese by Sanghadeva and another in A.D. 383. Another translation was made by Hiuen Tsiang A.D. 657. If the usual date of Buddha's *Nirvana* be adopted (viz., 400 years before Kanishka), Katavavana would have flourished in the first century or about 20 B.C. See Weber, *San'k Liter.*, p. 222. His work was the foundation of the *Abhidharma-mahavibhasha Sastra*, composed during the council under Kanishka. (See Bunyiu Nanjo, *Catalogue of Buddhist Tripit.*, No. 1263).

fruit (*of Arhats*) have reached *Nirvana*. To cite all would be difficult. Their teeth and bones still remain. The convents gird the mountain<sup>29</sup> for about 20 li in circuit, and the *stupas* containing relics of Buddha are hundreds and thousands in number; they are crowded together, so that one overshadows the other.

Going north-east from this country, 140 or 150 li, we come to the country of Che-lan-t'o-lo (*Jalandhara*).

#### CHE-LAN-T'O-LO [JALANDHARA]

This kingdom<sup>30</sup> is about 1000 li from east to west, and about 800 li from north to south. The capital is 12 or 13 li in circuit. The land is favourable for the cultivation of cereals, and it produces much rice. The forests are thick and umbrageous, fruits and flowers abundant. The climate is warm and moist, the people brave and impetuous, but their appearance is common and rustic. The houses are rich and well supplied. There are fifty convents, or so; about 2000 priests. They have students both of the Great and Little Vehicle. There are three temples of Devas and about 500 heretics, who all belong to the Pasupatas (*cinder-sprinkled*).

A former king of this land showed great partiality for the heretics, but afterwards, having met with an Arhat and heard the

<sup>29</sup> There is probably a false reading in the text, either (1) *Shan*, a mountain, is a mistake for *sang*, which would give us *sang-kia-lan*, "sangharama," instead of *kia-lan*, or else (2) *shan* is for *yau*, a very common misprint. In the first case the translation would then be "the teeth and bones still exist around the sangharama;" or, if the second reading be adopted, the rendering would be "the teeth and bones still exist all round, from (*yau*) the *kia-lan*, for a circuit of 20 li," &c. Perhaps the first correction is preferable. I am satisfied the reading, as it is, is corrupt.

<sup>30</sup> Jalandhara, a well-known place in the Punjab (lat. 31° 19' N., long. 75° 28' E.) We may therefore safely reckon from it in testing Hiuen Tsiang's figures. From Sultanpur to Jalandhara is as nearly as possible 50 miles north-east. Hiuen Tsiang gives 150 or 140 li in the same direction. Assuming the capital of Chinapati to be 50 li north-west of Sultanpur, that distance and bearing would place us on the right bank of the Biyas river, near the old town of Patti. Reckoning back to Sakala, the distance (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, map vi) is just 100 miles north of west. Hiuen Tsiang gives 500 li west. From this it seems that the computation of five li to the mile is, in this part of India at least, a safe one. For a full account of Jalandhara and its importance, see Cunningham (*op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.) It is sometimes stated that the council under Kanishka was held in the Jalandhara convent, that is, the Tamavana Sangharama (V. de St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 333n.) The fact that Katyayana lived and wrote in this establishment, and that the great work of the council was to write a commentary on his *sastra*, would so far be in accord with the statement. Hiuen Tsiang on his return journey was accompanied to Jalandhara by Udita, the king of North India, who made this his capital. Shortly after this a Shaman, Yuan-chiu, from China stopped here four years, studying Sanskrit with the Mung king, perhaps the same Udita (*J.R.A.S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 563). The way through Kapisa was shortly after this time (664 A.D.) occupied by the Arabs (*op. cit.*, p. 564).

law, he believed and understood it. Therefore the king of Mid-India, out of regard for his sincere faith, appointed him sole inspector of the affairs of religion (*the three germs*) throughout the five Indies. Making light of party distinctions (*this or that*), with no preference or dislike, he examined into the conduct of the priests, and probed their behaviour with wonderful sagacity. The virtuous and the well-reported of, he reverenced and openly regarded ; the disorderly he punished. Wherever there were traces of the holy one (*or, ones*), he built either *stupas* or *sangharamas*, and there was no place within the limits of India he did not visit and inspect.

Going north-east from this, skirting along some high mountain passes and traversing some deep valleys, following a dangerous road, and crossing many ravines, going 700 li or so, we come to the country of K'iu-lu-to (Kuluta).

#### K'IU-LU-TO [KULUTA]

This country<sup>31</sup> is about 300 li in circuit, and surrounded on every side by mountains. The chief town is about 14 or 15 li round. The land is rich and fertile, and the crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant, and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the Snowy Mountains, there are found here many medicinal (*roots*) of much value. Gold, silver, and copper are found here —fire-drops (*crystal*) and native copper (*teou*). The climate is unusually cold, and hail or snow continually falls. The people are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours. Their nature is hard and fierce ; they greatly regard justice and bravery. There art about twenty *sangharamas*, and 1000 priests or so. They mostly study the Great Vehicle ; a few practise (*the rules of*) other schools (*nikayas*). There are fifteen Deva temples : different sects occupy them without distinction.

Along the precipitous sides of the mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers which face one another. Here the Arhats dwell or the Rishis stop.

In the middle of the country is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This *stupa* is a memorial of the traces of his presence.

Going north from this, along a road thick with dangers and precipices, about 1800 or 1900 li, along mountains and valleys, we come to the country of Lo-u-lo (*Lahul*).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Kuluta, the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the Biyas river. It is also called Koluka and Koluta,—*Ramay.*, iv. 43, 8 ; *Brih. Samh.*, xiv. 22, 29 ; Wilson, *Hind. Theat.*, vol. ii. p. 165 ; Saint-Martin, *Etude sur la Geog. Grec.*, pp. 300 f. The present capital is Sultanpur (Cunningham). The old capital was called Nagara or Nagarkot.

<sup>32</sup> Lahul, the Lho-yal of the Ti-betans.

North of this 2000 li or so, travelling by a road dangerous and precipitous, where icy winds and flying snow (*assault the traveller*), we come to the country of Mo-lo-so (called also San-po-ho).<sup>33</sup>

Leaving the country of K'iu-lu-to and going south 700 li or so, passing a great mountain and crossing a wide river, we come to the country of She-to-t'u-lo (Satadru).

#### SHE-TO-T'U-LU [SATADRU]

This country<sup>34</sup> is about 2000 li from east to west, and borders on a great river. The capital is 17 or 18 li in circuit. Cereals grow in abundance, and there is very much fruit. There is an abundance of gold and silver found here, and precious stones. For clothing the people wear a very bright silk stuff; their garments are elegant and rich. The climate is warm and moist. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable; the men are docile and virtuous. The high and low take their proper place. They all sincerely believe in the law of Buddha and show it great respect. Within and without the royal city there are ten *sangha-ramas*, but the halls are now deserted and cold, and there are but few priests. To the south-east of the city 3 or 4 li is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Beside it are the traces where the four past Buddhas sat or walked.

Going again from this south-west about 800 li, we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ye-to-lo (Paryatra).

#### PO-LI-YE-TO-LO [PARYATRA]

This country<sup>35</sup> is about 3000 li in circuit, and the capital about 14 or 15 li. Grain is abundant and late wheat. There is a strange

<sup>33</sup> This country is also called San-po-ho (Sampaha ?)—*Ch. Ed.* The suggestion of General Cunningham that Mo-lo-so should be read Marpo (Mo-lo-po, St. Martin, *Mem.*, p. 331) is quite admissible. *Mo-lo* is equal to *mar*, and the symbol *so* is often mistaken for *po*. The province of Ladak is called Mar-po, or the “red district,” from the colour of the soil. The distance given by Hiuen Tsiang viz., 4600 li from Jalandhara, is no doubt much in excess of the straight route to Ladak, but as he went no further than Kuluta himself, the other distances, viz., 1900+2000 li, must have been gathered from hearsay. Doubtless the route would be intricate and winding.

<sup>34</sup> Satadru—also spelt Sutudri, Satudri, and Sitadrus, “flowing in a hundred branches”—the name of the Satlaj (Gerard’s *Koonawur*, p. 28). It is the Hesidrus (or Hesudrus ?) of Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 17, 21) and the *Zaradros* or *Zadadores* of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 27, 42). See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 57. It also appears to have been the name of a kingdom of which Sarhind was probably the chief town, referred to in the text.

<sup>35</sup> Paryatra is said in the next section to be 500 li (100 miles) west of Mathura or Muttra. This would favour the restoration of the Chinese *Po-li-ye-to-lo* to Virata or Bairat. The distance and bearing from Sarhind, however, given in the text, do not agree with this. Bairat is some 220 miles south of Sarhind.

kind of rice grown here, which ripens after sixty days.<sup>36</sup> There are many oxen and sheep, few flowers and fruits. The climate is warm and fiery, the manners of the people are resolute and fierce.<sup>37</sup> They do not esteem learning, and are given to honour the heretics. The king is of the Vaisya caste; he is of a brave and impetuous nature, and very warlike.

There are eight *sangharamas*, mostly ruined, with a very few priests, who study the Little Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples with about 1000 followers of different sects.

Going east from this 500 li or so, we come to the country of Mo-t'u-lo (Mathura).

### MO-T'U-LO [MATHURA]

The kingdom of Mo-t'u-lo<sup>38</sup> is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital is 20 li round. The soil is rich and fertile, and fit for producing grain (*sowing and reaping*). They give principal care to the cultivation of '*An-mo-lo* (trees), which grow in clusters<sup>39</sup> like forests. These trees, though called by one name, are of two kinds; the small species, the fruit of which, when young, is green, and becomes yellow as it ripens; and the great species, the fruit of which is green throughout its growth.

This country produces a fine species of cotton fabric and also yellow gold. The climate is warm to a degree. The manners of the people are soft and complacent. They like to prepare secret stores of religious merit.<sup>40</sup> They esteem virtue and honour learning.

There are about twenty *sangharamas* with 2000 priests or so. They study equally the Great and the Little Vehicles. There are five Deva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live.

There are three *stupas* built by Asoka-raja. There are very

<sup>36</sup> Julien states (Book V, n. 3) that this is a species of "dry rice" or "mountain rice," called *Tchen-ich'ing-tao*, which, according to a Chinese account, ripens in this period of time.

<sup>37</sup> The people of Virata were always famous for their valour; hence Manu directs that the van of an army should be composed of men of Matsya or Virata (amongst others). Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 341.

<sup>38</sup> Mathura, on the Yamuna, in the ancient Surasenaka district, lat. 27° 28' N., long. 77° 41' E. For a description of the Buddhist remains discovered in the neighbourhood of this city, see Cunningham, *Archaeol. Surv. of India*, vol. i. pp. 231ff., and vol. iii. p. 13ff.; Growse's *Mathura* (2nd ed.), pp. 95-116; *Ind. Ant.* vol. vi. pp. 216 f. It is the *Mothora* of Arrian (*Ind.*, c. 8) and Pliny (*H. N.*, lib. vi. c. 19, s. 22), and the *Modoura e ton theor* of Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 1, 49). Conf. Lassen, *I.A.*, vol. i. p. 158; *Brih. Samh.*, iv 26, xvi. 17; Panini, iv. 2, 82; Burnouf, *Intr.*, pp. 130, 336.

<sup>39</sup> I have translated the phrase *ka-ch'in*, "in clusters;" literally it would be "family clusters." The Amala or Amalaka is a kind of Myrobalan, *Embllica officinalis*, *Gaertn* (Petersb. *Dict.*) or *Phyllanthus emblica* (Wilson).

<sup>40</sup> The phrase in the text denotes that the merits acquired is mysterious or for the future world.

many traces<sup>41</sup> of the four past Buddhas here. There are also *stupas* to commemorate the remains of the holy followers of Sakya Tathagata, to wit, of Sariputra (She-li-tseu), of Mudgalaputra (Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu), of Purnamaitrayaniputra (Pu-la-na-me-i-ta-li-yen-ni-fo-ta-lo), of Upali (Yeu-po-li), of Ananda ('O-nan-to), of Rahula (Lo-hu-la), of Manjusri (Man-chu-sse-li), and *stupas* of other Bodhisattvas. Every year during the three months in which long fasts are observed,<sup>42</sup> and during the six fast-days of each month, the priests resort to these various *stupas* and pay mutual compliments; they make their religious offerings, and bring many rare and precious objects for presents. According to their school they visit the sacred object (*figure*) of their veneration. Those who study the *Abhidharma* honour Sariputra; those who practise meditation honour Mudgalaputra; those who recite the *sutras* honour Purnamaitrayaniputra;<sup>43</sup> those who study the *Vinaya* reverence Upali. All the Bhikshunis honour Ananda, the Sramaneras<sup>44</sup> honour Rahula; those who study the Great Vehicle reverence the Bodhisattvas. On these days they honour the *stupas* with offerings. They spread out (*display*) their jewelled banners; the rich (*precious*) coverings (*parasals*) are crowded together as network; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; and flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal.<sup>45</sup>

To the east of the city about 5 or 6 li we come to a mountain *sangharama*.<sup>46</sup> The hill-sides are pierced (*widened*) to make

<sup>41</sup> "Bequeathed traces;" not necessarily foot-marks, but any mark or trace.

<sup>42</sup> The 1st, 5th and 9th month—Julien.

<sup>43</sup> A native of Surparaka, in Western India, for whom see Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 426, 503, *Lotus*, p. 2; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi. pp. 236, 294; Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, pp. 236, 294; Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, pp. 58, 267f.; Beal, *Catena*, pp. 287, 344; Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, p. 290; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx. pp. 61, 427.

<sup>44</sup> Those not yet fully ordained; or, literally, those who have not yet taken on them all the rules, i.e., of the *Pratimoksha*. The Sramaneras, or young disciples (notices), are referred to; they are called *anupasmpanna*, not fully ordained. See Childers' *Pali Dict.* sub voc.

<sup>45</sup> Literally, "prepare good (*fruit*) by their zeal (*careful attention*).

<sup>46</sup> This passage is obscure and unsatisfactory. In the first place, the bearing from the city must be wrong, as the river Jamna washes the eastern side of the city for its whole length. If *west* be substituted for *east*, we are told by General Cunningham (*Arch. Survey of India*, vol. iii. p. 28) that the Chaurara mounds, about one mile and a half from the town in that direction, have no hollows such as Hiuen Tsiang describes. If *north* be substituted for *east*, the Katra mound is not a mile from the town. But in the second place, the Chinese text is obscure. I do not think we can translate *yih shan kia tan*—literally "one-mountain-sangharama"—by "a sangharama situated on a mountain." There is the same phrase used in connection with the Tamasesvana convent (*sup-a*, pp. 207-8). I have supposed that *shan* in that passage is a misprint. Gen.

cells (for the priests). We enter it<sup>47</sup> through a valley, as by gates. This was constructed by the honourable Upagupta.<sup>48</sup> There is in it a *stupa* containing the nail-parings of the Tathagata.

To the north of the *sangharama*, in a cavern (*or* between two high banks), is a stone house about 20 feet high and 30 feet wide. It is filled with small wooden tokens (*slips*) four inches long.<sup>49</sup> Here the honourable Upagupta preached; when he converted a man and wife, so that they both arrived at (*confronted*) the fruit of Arhatship, he placed one slip (*in this house*). He made no record of those who attained this condition if they belonged to different families or separate castes (*tribes*).

Twenty-four or five li to the south-east of the stone house there is a great dry marsh, by the side of which is a *stupa*. In old days the Tathagata walked to and fro in this place. At this time a monkey holding (*a pot of*) honey offered it to Buddha. Buddha hereupon ordered him to mingle it with water, and to distribute it everywhere among the great assembly.<sup>50</sup> The

Cunningham remarks (*Archæol. Survey*, vol. xiv, p. 56), that Hiuen Tsiang compares this monastery to a mountain: if they were so, the text would be intelligible; but I can find no such statement. If the text is not corrupt, the most satisfactory explanation I can offer is that the mounds which seem to abound in the neighbourhood of Mathura (and also the high mound at Sultanpur) had been used by the early Buddhist priests as "mountain-convents," that is, the mounds had been excavated, as the sides of mountains were, for dwelling-places. It is possible, also, to make *yishan* a proper name for *Ekaparvata*: the passage would then read "5 or 6 li to the east of the city is the Ekaparvatata monastery."

<sup>47</sup> The word used in the text (*yin*) favours another rendering, viz., "the valley being the gates."

<sup>48</sup> Upagupta (Yu-po-kiu-to, in Chinese Kin-hu, and in Japanese Uvakikta), a Sudra by birth, entered on a monastic life when seventeen years old, became an Arhat three years later, and conquered Mara in a personal contest. He laboured in Mathura as the fourth patriarch. (Eitel, *Handbook*, s. voc.) The personal contest alluded to is related fully as an *Avadana* by Asvaghosha in his sermons. Mara found Upagupta lost in meditation, and placed a wreath of flowers on his head. On returning to consciousness, and finding himself thus crowned, he entered again into *samadhi*, to see who had done the deed. Finding it was Mara, he caused a dead body to fasten itself round Mara's neck. No power in heaven or earth could disentangle it. Finally Mara returned to Upagupta, confessed his fault, and prayed him to free him from the corpse. Upagupta consented on condition that he (Mara) would exhibit himself under the form of Buddha "with all his marks." Mara does so, and Upagupta, overpowered by the magnificence of the (supposed) Buddha, falls down before him in worship. The tableau then close amid a terrific storm. Upagupta is spoken of as "a Buddha without marks" (*Alakhanako Buddhah*).—Burnouf, *Introd.*, p. 336, n. 4. See also *Fo-sho-hine-ts'an-king*, p. xii. He is not known to the Southern school of Buddhism. He is made a contemporary of Asoka by the Northern school, and placed one hundred years after the *Nirvana*. Conf. Edkins, *Chin. Buddhism*, pp. 67-70; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. ii, p. 1201.

<sup>49</sup> Literally, "four-inch wooden tokens fill up its interior." But according to another account (*Wong puh*, § 177), the tokens or rods were used at the cremation of Upagupta.

<sup>50</sup> Growse would identify this spot with Damdama mound near

monkey, filled with joy, fell into a deep hole and was killed. By the power of his religious merit he obtained birth as a man.

To the north of the lake not very far, in the midst of a great wood, are the traces of the four former Buddhas walking to and fro. By the side are *stupas* erected to commemorate the spots where Sariputra, Mudgalaputra, and others, to the number of 1250 great Arhats, practised *samadhi* and left traces thereof. The Tathagata, when in the world, often traversed this country preaching the law. On the places where he stopped there are monuments (*trees* or *posts*) with titles on them.

Going north-east 500 li or so, we come to the country of Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo (Sthanesvara).

#### Sa-T'A-NISHI-FA-LO [STHANESVARA]

This kingdom<sup>51</sup> is about 7000 li in circuit, the capital 20 li or so. The soil is rich and productive, and abounds with grain (*cereals*). The climate is genial, though hot. The manners of the people are cold and insincere. The families are rich and given to excessive luxury. They are much addicted to the use of magical arts, and greatly honour those of distinguished ability in other ways. Most of the people follow after worldly gain; a few give themselves to agricultural pursuits. There is a large accumulation here of rare and valuable merchandise from every quarter. There are three *sangharamas* in this country, with about 700 priests. They all study (*practise* or *use*) the Little Vehicle. There are some hundred Deva temples, and sectaries of various kinds in great number.

On every side of the capital within a precinct of 200 li in circuit is an area called by the men of this place "the land of religious merit."<sup>52</sup> This is what tradition states about it:—In

Sarai Jamalpur, "at some distance to the south-east of the *katra*, the traditional site of ancient Mathura."—Growse's *Mathura* (2nd ed.), p. 100; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. i. p. 233. The legend of the monkey is often represented in Baudha sculptures (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. p. 114). In this translation I follow Julien. The literal rendering is, "Buddha ordered a water-mingling everywhere around the great assembly." The "great assembly" is the *Samgha* or congregation, generally represented as 1250 in number. Probably the verb *shi* is understood, "*to give it everywhere*," &c.

<sup>51</sup> The pilgrim probably left Mathura and travelled back by his former route till he came to Hansi, where he struck off in a north-west direction for about 100 miles to Thanesvar or Sthanesvara. This is one of the oldest and most celebrated places in India, on account of its connection with the Pandus. See Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 331; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 153, n.; Hall *Vasavadatta*, p. 51.

<sup>52</sup> This is also called the Dharmakshetra, or the "holy land;" and Kuru-kshetra, from the number of holy places connected with the Kauravas and Pandavas, and with other heroes of antiquity. For some remarks on the probable extent of this district, see *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 333; *Arch. Sur. of India*, vol. ii. pp. 212 f., and vol. xiv. p. 100; Thomson, *Bhagavad. Gita*, c. i. n. 2; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 153.

old time there were two kings<sup>53</sup> of the five Indies, between whom the government was divided. They attacked one another's frontiers, and never ceased fighting. At length the two kings came to the agreement that they should select on each side a certain number of soldiers to decide the question by combat, and so give the people rest. But the multitude rejected this plan, and would have none of it. Then the king (*of this country*) reflected that the people are difficult to please (*to deal with*). A miraculous power (*a spirit*) may perhaps move them (*to action*) ; some project (*out-of-the-way plan*) may perhaps settle (*establish*) them in some right course of action.

At this time there was a Brahman of great wisdom and high talent. To him the king sent secretly a present of some rolls of silk, and requested him to retire within his after-hall (*private apartment*) and there compose a religious book which he might conceal in a mountain cavern. After some time,<sup>54</sup> when the trees had grown over (*the mouth of the cavern*), the king summoned his ministers before him as he sat on his royal throne, and said : "Ashamed of my little virtue in the high estate I occupy, the ruler of heaven<sup>55</sup> (*or, of Devas*) has been pleased to reveal to me in a dream, and to confer upon me a divine book which is now concealed in such-and-such a mountain fastness and in such-and-such a rocky corner."

On this an edict was issued to search for this book, and it was found underneath the mountain bushes. The high ministers addressed their congratulations (*to the king*) and the people were overjoyed. The king then gave an account of the discovery to those far and near, and caused all to understand the matter ; and this is the upshot of his message : "To birth and death there is no limit—no end to the revolutions of life. There is no rescue from the spiritual abyss (*in which we are immersed*). But now by a rare plan I am able to deliver men from this suffering. Around this royal city, for the space of 200 li in circuit, was the land of 'religious merit' for men, apportioned by the kings of old. Years having rolled away in great numbers, the traces have been forgotten or destroyed. Men not regarding spiritual indications (*religion*) have been immersed in the sea of sorrow without power of escape. What then is to be said ? Let it be known (*from the divine revelation given*) that all those of you who shall attack the enemy's troops and die in battle, that they shall be born again as men ; if they kill many, that, free from guilt,<sup>56</sup> they shall receive

<sup>53</sup> That is, the king of the Kurus and of the Pandus. The struggle between these two families forms the subject of the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahabharata*.

<sup>54</sup> Some years and months after.

<sup>55</sup> This is the general title given to Sakra or Indra, Sakradevendra.

<sup>56</sup> This differs from Julien's version ; the literal translation is "many slain, guiltless, they shall receive the happiness of heaven as their reward".

heavenly joys. Those obedient grandchildren and pious children who assist (*attend*) their aged parents<sup>57</sup> in walking about this land shall reap happiness (*merit*) without bounds. With little work, a great reward.<sup>58</sup> Who would lose such an opportunity, (*since*), when once dead, our bodies fall into the dark intricacies of the three evil ways?<sup>59</sup> Therefore let every man stir himself to the utmost to prepare good works."

On this the men hastened to the conflict, and regarded death as deliverance.<sup>60</sup> The king accordingly issued an edict and summoned his braves. The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones. As this relates to a very remote period of time, the bones are very large ones.<sup>61</sup> The constant tradition of the country, therefore, has called this "the field of religious merit" (*or "happiness"*).

To the north-west of the city 4 or 5 li is a *stupa* about 300 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. The bricks are all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining, within is a peck measure of the relics of Buddha. From the *stupa* is frequently emitted a brilliant light, and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves.

Going south of the city about 100 li, we come to a convent called Ku-hwan-ch'a (Gokantha?).<sup>62</sup> There are here a succession of towers with overlapping storeys,<sup>63</sup> with intervals between them for walking (*pacing*). The priests are virtuous and well-mannered, possessed of quiet dignity.

Going from this north-east 400 li or so, we come to the country of Su-lo-kin-na (Srughna).

#### SU-LO-KIN-NA [SRUGHNA]

This country<sup>64</sup> is about 6000 li in circuit. On the eastern side it borders on the Ganges river, on the north it is backed by great (*merit*). It seems to imply that if they shall be killed after slaying many of the enemy, they shall be born in heaven.

<sup>57</sup> Or, "their relations and the aged." It is an obscure passage, but the allusion is probably to those who attend to the wounded or the bereaved.

<sup>58</sup> There may be a reference to mourning for distant relatives, implying that this also shall be rewarded.

<sup>59</sup> I.e., of hell, of famished demons, and of brutes.

<sup>60</sup> The phrase *ju kwei*, "as returned," has a meaning equal to our word "salvation" or "saved." The sentence appears to be interpolated.

<sup>61</sup> There is a Vedic legend about Indra, who slew ninety times nine Vritras near this spot. The site of Asthipur, or "bone-town," is still pointed out in the plain to the west of the city.—Cunningham, *Geog.*, p. 336; *Arch. Sur.*, vol. ii. p. 219.

<sup>62</sup> This may also be restored to Govinda.

<sup>63</sup> *Lin Mang*=connected ridgepoles (?).

<sup>64</sup> Hiuen Tsiang reckons his distance from the capital as usual. The distance indicated from Sthanesvara in a north-east direction would take

mountains. The river Yamuna (Chen-mu-na) flows through its frontiers. The capital is about 20 li in circuit, and is bounded on the east by the river Yamuna. It is deserted, although its foundations are still very strong. As to produce of soil and character of climate, this country resembles the kingdom of Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo (Sthanesvara). The disposition of the people is sincere and truthful. They honour and have faith in heretical teaching, and they greatly esteem the pursuit of learning, but principally religious wisdom (*or*, the wisdom that brings happiness).

There are five *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests; the greater number study the Little Vehicle; a few exercise themselves in other (*exceptional*) schools. They deliberate and discuss in appropriate language (*choice words*), and their clear discourses embody profound truth. Men of different regions of eminent skill discuss with them to satisfy their doubts. There are a hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries (*unbelievers*).

To the south-west of the capital and west of the river Yamuna is a *sangharama*, outside the eastern gate of which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. The Tathagata, when in the world in former days, preached the law in this place to convert men. By its side is another *stupa* in which there are relics of the Tathagata's hair and nails. Surrounding this on the right and left are *stupas* enclosing the hair and nail relics of Sariputra and of Mu-te-kia-lo (Maudgalyayana) and other Arhats, several tens in number.

After Tathagata had entered *Nirvana* this country was the seat of heretical teaching. The faithful were perverted to false doctrine, and forsook the orthodox views. Now there are five *sangharamas* in places where master of treatises<sup>65</sup> from different countries, holding controversies with the heretics and Brahmans, prevailed; they were erected on this account.

On the east of the Yamuna, going about 800 li, we come to

us to Kalsi, in the Jaunsar district, on the east of Sirmur. Cunningham places Srughna at Sughi, a place about fifty miles north-east from the Gokantha monastery. Hwuilih makes the direction *east* instead of north-east. Srughna, north of Hastinapura, is mentioned by Panini (i. 3, 25; ii. 1, 14 schol.; iv. 3, 25, 86), and by Varaha Mihira, *Brih. Samh.*, xvi. 21. Conf. Hall's *Vasavadatta*, int. p. 51. It appears from Cunningham's account of the pillar of Firuz Shah, which was brought from a place called Topur or Topera, on the bank of the Jamna, in the district of Salora, not far from Khizrabad, which is at *the foot of* the mountains, 90 kos from Dehli, which place Cunningham identifies with Paota, not far from Kalsi (*Archæol. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 166), that this neighbourhood was famous in olden days as a Buddhist locality. I think we should trust Hiuen Tsiang's 400 li north-east from Sthanesvara, and place the capital of Srughna at or near Kalsi, which Cunningham also includes in the district. Conf. Cunningham, *Arch. Sur.*, vol. ii. pp. 226 ff; *Anc. Geog.*, p. 345.

<sup>65</sup> That is, Buddhist doctors of learned writers (*writers of sastras*).

the Ganges river.<sup>66</sup> The source of the river (or the river at its source) is 3 or 4 li wide; flowing south-east, it enters the sea, where it is 10 li and more in width. The water of the river is blue, like the ocean, and its waves are wide-rolling as the sea. The scaly monsters, though many, do no harm to men. The taste of the water is sweet and pleasant, and sands of extreme fineness<sup>67</sup> border its course. In the common history of the country this river is called Fo-shwui, the *river of religious merit*,<sup>68</sup> which can wash away countless<sup>69</sup> sins. Those who are weary of life, if they end their days in it, are borne to heaven and receive happiness. If a man dies and his bones are cast into the river, he cannot fall into an evil way; whilst he is carried by its waters and forgotten by men, his soul is preserved in safety on the other side (in the other world).

At a certain time there was a Bodhisattva of the island of Simhala (Chi-sse-tseu—Ceylon) called Deva, who profoundly understood the relationship of truth<sup>70</sup> and the nature of all composite things (*fa*).<sup>71</sup> Moved with pity at the ignorance of men, he came to this country to guide and direct the people in the right way. At this time the men and women were all assembled with the young and old together on the banks of the river, whose waves rolled along with impetuosity. Then Deva Bodhisattva composing his supernatural appearance<sup>72</sup> bent his head and dispersed it (*the rays of his glory?*) again<sup>73</sup>—his appearance different from that of other men. There was an unbeliever who said “What does my son in altering thus his appearance?”<sup>74</sup>

Deva Bodhisattva answered: “My father, mother, and relations dwell in the island of Ceylon. I fear least they may

<sup>66</sup> In Hwui-lih the text seems to require the route to be to the *source* of the Ganges. The distance of 800 li would favour this reading; but it is hard to understand how a river can be three or four li (three-quarters of a mile) wide at its source. See the accounts of Gangadwara, Gangautri, or Gangotri, by Rennell, &c.

<sup>67</sup> Hence the comparison so frequently met with in Buddhist books, “as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.”

<sup>68</sup> The Mahabhadra.

<sup>69</sup> Heaped-up sin, or although heaped up: I do not think Julien's “qu'ou'on soit charge de crimes” meets the sense of the original.

<sup>70</sup> Or, all true relationship; the symbol *siang* corresponds with *lakshana*; it might be translated, therefore, “all the marks of truth.”

<sup>71</sup> The symbol *fa* corresponds with *dharma*, which has a wide meaning, as in the well-known text, *ye dharma hetu-probhava*, &c.

<sup>72</sup> His agreeable splendour, dipping up and drawing in.

<sup>73</sup> This passage is obscure. Julien's translation is as follows: “Deva Bodhisattva softened the brightness of his figure and wished to draw some water; but the moment he bent his head at that point the water receded in streams (*en jaillissant*).” It may be so; or it may refer to his miraculous appearance, drawing in and dispersing again the brightness of his figure. The subsequent part of the narrative, however, seems to denote that he “drew in” some water, and then scattered or dispersed it.

<sup>74</sup> Literally, “My son! why this difficult, or wonderful (occurrence)?”

be suffering from hunger and thirst ; I desire to appease them from this distant spot."

The heretic said : "You deceive yourself, my son ;<sup>75</sup> have you no reflection to see how foolish such a thing is ? Your country is far off, and separated by mountains and rivers of wide extent from this. To draw up this water and scatter it in order to quench the thirst of those far off, is like going backwards to seek a thing before you ; it is a way never heard of before." Then Deva Bodhisattva said : "If those who are kept for their sins in the dark regions of evil can reap the benefit of the water, why should it not reach those who are merely separated by mountains and rivers ?"

Then the heretics, in presence of the difficulty, confessed themselves wrong, and, giving up their unbelief, received the true law. Changing their evil ways, they reformed themselves, and vowed to become his disciples.<sup>76</sup>

After crossing the river and going along the eastern side of it, we come to the country of Ma-ti-pu-lo (Matipura).

#### MA-TI-PU-LO [MATIPURA]

This country<sup>77</sup> is about 6000 li in circuit ; the capital is about 20 li. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals, and there are many flowers and kinds of fruit. The climate is soft and mild. The people are sincere and truthful. They very much reverence learning, and are deeply versed in the use of charms and magic. The followers of truth and error are equally divided.<sup>78</sup> The king belongs to the caste of the Sudras (Shu-t'o-lo). He is not a

<sup>75</sup> Or, "you deceive yourself, sir!" The expression *nyo tseu* seems to mean more than "doctor" or "sir."

<sup>76</sup> The history of Deva Bodhisattva is somewhat confusing. We know this much of him, that he was a disciple of Nagarjuna, and his successor as fourteenth (or according to others, fifteenth) patriarch. He is called Kanadeva, because, according to Vassilief (p. 219), he gave one of his eyes (*kana*, "one-eyed") to Mahesvara, but more probably because he bored out (*kana*, "perforated") the eye of Mahesvara. For this story see *Wong Puh*, § 188 (*J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 207), where the Chinese *ts'ho* answers to *kana*. See Edkins, *Chin. Buddh.*, pp. 77—79 ; Lassen, *I. A.*, vol. ii. p. 1204. He is also called Aryadeva. According to others he is the same as Chandrakirtti (*J. As. S. Ben.*, vol. vii. p. 144), but this cannot be the Chandrakirtti who followed the teaching of Buddhalita (Vassilief, p. 207), for Buddhalita composed commentaries on the works of Aryadeva (*ibid.*). It seems probable from the statement in the text that Deva was a native of Ceylon. B. Nanjo says *not* (*Catalogue*, col. 370); but if not he evidently dwelt there. He was the author of numerous works, for a list of which see B. Nanjo (*loc. cit.*) He probably flourished towards the middle or end of the first century A.D.

<sup>77</sup> Matipura has been identified with Madawar or Mundore, a large town in Western Rohilkand, near Bijnor (V. de St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 344; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 349). The people of this town were perhaps the Mathai of Megasthenes (Arrian, *Indica*, c. 4; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v. p. 332).

<sup>78</sup> That is, the Buddhists and Brahmins, or other sectaries.

believer in the law of Buddha, but reverences and worships the spirits of heaven. There are about twenty *sangharamas*, with 800 priests. They mostly study the Little Vehicle and belong to the school of Sarvastivadas (Shwo-i-tsie-yau). There are some fifty Deva temples, in which men of different persuasions dwell promiscuously.

Four or five li to the south of the capital we come to a little *sangharama* having about fifty priests in it. In old time the master of *sastras* called Kiu-na-po-la-po (Gunaprabha),<sup>79</sup> composed in this convent the treatise called *Pin-chin*,<sup>80</sup> and some hundred others. When young, this master of *sastras* distinguished himself for his eminent talent, and when he grew up he stood alone in point of learning. He was well versed in knowledge of men (*or things*), was of sound understanding, full of learning, and widely celebrated.<sup>81</sup> Originally he was brought up in the study of the Great Vehicle, but before he had penetrated its deep principles he had occasion to study the *Vibhasha Sastra*, on which he withdrew from his former work and attached himself to the Little Vehicle. He composed several tens of treatises to overthrow the Great Vehicle, and thus became a zealous partisan of the Little Vehicle school. Moreover, he composed several tens of secular books opposing and criticising the writings of former renowned teachers. He widely studied the sacred books of Buddha, but yet, though he studied deeply for a long time, there were yet some ten difficulties which he could not overcome in this school.

At this time there was an Arhat called Devasena,<sup>82</sup> who went once and again to the Tushita (*Tu-shi-to*) heaven. Gunaprabha begged him to obtain for him an interview with Maitreya in order to settle his doubts.

Devasena, by his miraculous power, transported him to the heavenly palace. Having seen Maitreya (Tse-shi) Gunaprabha

<sup>79</sup> In Chinese, *Tih kwong*, "the brightness of virtue, or good qualities."

<sup>80</sup> Restored doubtfully by Julien to *Tattva-vibhanga Sastra* (p. 220 n. 2), and by Eitel to *Tattva-sastra Sastra* (*Handbook* sub voc. Gunaprabha).

<sup>81</sup> This expression, *to-wan*, may mean "celebrated," or it may refer to Gunaprabha when a young disciple. It is a phrase applied to Ananda before he arrived at enlightenment (see *Catena of Buddhist Script*, p. 289 and n. 2). It is also generally applied to Vaistravana, as an explanation of his name "the celebrated" (compara *periklutos*) and it is very probable that the story found in Buddhist books of Vaisravana's conversion and his consent to protect the Sravakas is simply the result of these names being derived from the same root, *sru*. The Chinese *to-wan*, when referred to a young disciple, is equal to the Sanskrit *sikshaka*, a learner (see Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 295). Gunaprabha is said by Vassilief (*Bouddhisme*, p. 78) to have been a disciple of Vasubandhu, and to have lived at Mathura in the Agrapura monastery : he was *guru* at the court of the king Sri Harsha (doubtfully). Perhaps in this quotation Mathura has been mistaken for Matipura, in which case the convent referred to in the text would be called Agrapura.

<sup>82</sup> Ti-po-si-na, in Chinese *Tienkwan*, army of the gods.

bowed low to him, but paid him no worship. On this Devasena said, "Maitreya Bodhisattva holds the next place in becoming a Buddha, why are you so self-conceited as not to pay him supreme reverence? If you wish to receive benefit (*building up, enification*) from him, why do you not fall down?"

Gunaprabha replied: "Reverend sir! this advice is honest, and intended to lead me to right amendment; but I am an ordained Bhikshu, and have left the world as a disciple, whereas this Maitreya Bodhisattva is enjoying heavenly beatitude, and is no associate for one who has become an ascetic. I was about to offer him worship, but I feared it would not be right."

Bodhisattva (Maitreya) perceived that *pride of self* (*atma-mada*) was bound up in his heart, so that he was not a vessel for instruction; and though he went and returned three times, he got no solution of his doubts. At length he begged Devasena to take him again, and that he was ready to worship. But Devasena, repelled by his pride of self, refused to answer him.

Gunaprabha, not attaining his wish, was filled with hatred and resentment. He went forthwith into the desert apart, and practised he *somadhi* called *fa-tung* (*opening intelligence*); but because he had not put away the *pride of self*, he could obtain no fruit.

To the north of the *sangharama* of Gunaprabha about three or four li is a great convent with some 200 disciples in it, who study the Little Vehicle. This is where Sanghabhadra (Chung-hin), master of *sastras*, died. He was a native of Kashmir, and was possessed of great ability and vast penetration. As a young man he was singularly accomplished, and had mastered throughout the *Vibhasha Sastra* (*Pi-po-sha-lun*) of the Sarvastivada school.

At this time Vasubandhu Bodhisattva was living. He was seeking to explain that which it is beyond the power of words to convey by the mysterious method (*way*) of profound meditation.<sup>83</sup> With a view to overthrow the propositions of the masters of the Vibhashika school, he composed the *Abhidharma-kosha Sastra*. The form of his composition is clear and elegant, and his arguments are very subtle and lofty.

Sanghabhadra having read this work, took his resolution accordingly. He devoted himself during twelve years to the most profound researches, and composed the *Kin-she-pao-lun* (*Koshakaraka Sastra*)<sup>84</sup> in 25,000 slokas, containing altogether 800,000 words. We may say that it is a work of the deepest research and most subtle principles. Addressing his disciples, he said, "Whilst I retire from sight, do you, distinguished dis-

<sup>83</sup> *Yih-sin*, i.e., *samadhi* or *dhyana*.

<sup>84</sup> Or *Koshasila Sastra* (?).—Julien. See also *Wong Puh*, § 199, in *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 212.

ciples,<sup>85</sup> take this my orthodox treatise and go attack Vasubandhu; break down his sharp-pointed arguments, and permit not this old man<sup>86</sup> alone to assume the leading name."

Thereupon three or four of the most distinguished of his disciples took the treatise he had composed, and went in search of Vasubandhu. At this time he was in the country of Cheka,<sup>87</sup> in the town of Sakala, his fame being spread far and wide. And now Sanghabhadra was coming there; Vasubandhu having heard it, forthwith ordered (*his disciples*) to prepare for removal (*dress for travel*). His disciples having (*cherishing*) some doubts, the most eminent of them began to remonstrate with him, and said, "The high qualities of our great master transcend those of former men of note, and at the present day your wisdom is far spread and acknowledged by all. Why, then, on hearing the name of Sanghabhadra are you so fearful and timid? We, your disciples, are indeed humbled thereat."

Vasubandhu answered, "I am going away not because I fear to meet this man (*doctor*), but because in this country there is no one of penetration enough to recognise the inferiority of Sanghabhadra. He would only vilify me as if my old age were a fault. There would be no holding him to the *sastra*, or in one word I could overthrow his vagaries. Let us draw him to Mid-India, and there, in the presence of the eminent and wise, let us examine into the matter, and determine what is true and what is false, and who should be pronounced the victor or the loser."<sup>88</sup> Forthwith he ordered his disciples to pack up their books, and to remove far away.

The master of *sastras*, Sanghabhadra, the day after arriving at this convent, suddenly felt his powers of body (*hi*, vital spirits) fail him. On this wrote a letter, and excused himself to Vasubandhu thus: "The Tathagata having died, the different schools of his followers adopted and arranged their distinctive teaching; and each had its own disciples without hindrance. They favoured those of their own way of thinking; they rejected (*persecuted*) others. I, who possess but a weak understanding, unhappily inherited this custom from my predecessors, and coming to read your treatise called the *Abhidharma-kosha*, written to overthrow the great principles of the masters of the Vibhashika school, abruptly, without measuring my strength,

<sup>85</sup> It will be seen that this translation differs from Julien's, but I think it is in agreement with the text and context.

<sup>86</sup> Sanghabhadra could not have been the teacher of Vasubandhu, as Professor Max Muller thinks (*India*, pp. 303 f., 309, 312). He is probably the same as Sanghadesa, named by Vassilief (*Boudhisme*, p. 206).

<sup>87</sup> For Cheka, see above, Book iv. p. 165 *ante*.

<sup>88</sup> It will be seen again that this translation differs materially from that of M. Julien.

after many years' study have produced this *sutra* to uphold the teaching of the orthodox school. My wisdom indeed is little, my intentions great. My end is now approaching. If the Bodhisattva (*Vasubandhu*), in spreading abroad his subtle maxims and disseminating his profound reasonings, will vouchsafe not to overthrow my production, but will let it remain whole and entire for posterity, then I shall not regret my death."

Then, selecting from his followers one distinguished for his talents in speaking, he addressed him as follows : "I, who am but a scholar of poor ability, have aspired to surpass one of high natural talent. Wherefore, after my approaching death, do you take this letter which I have written, and my treatise also, and make my excuses to that Bodhisattva, and assure him of my repentance."

After uttering these words he suddenly stopped, when one said, "He is dead!"

The disciple, taking the letter, went to the place where *Vasubandhu* was, and having come, he spoke thus : "My master, *Sanghabhadra*, has died ; and his last words are contained in this letter, in which he blames himself for his faults, and in excusing himself to you asks you not to destroy his good name so that it dare not face the world."

*Vasubandhu Bodhisattva*, reading the letter and looking through the book, was for a time lost in thought. Then at length he addressed the disciple and said : "Sanghabhadra, the writer of *sastras*, was a clever and ingenious scholar (*inferior scholar*). His reasoning powers (*li*), indeed, were not deep (*enough*), but his diction is somewhat (*to the point*).<sup>89</sup> If I had any desire to overthrow Sanghabhadra's *sutra*, I could do so as easily as I place my finger in my hand. As to his dying request made to me, I greatly respect the expression of the difficulty he acknowledges. But besides that, there is great reason why I should observe his last wish, for indeed this *sutra* may illustrate the doctrines of my school, and accordingly I will only change its name and call it *Shum-ching-li-lun* (*Nyayanusara Sutra*).<sup>90</sup>

The disciple remonstrating said, "Before Sanghabhadra's death the great master (*Vasubandhu*) had removed far away ; but now he has obtained the *sutra*, he proposes to change the title ; how shall we (*the disciples of Sanghabhadra*) be able to suffer such an affront ?"

*Vasubandhu Bodhisattva*, wishing to remove all doubts, said in reply by verse : "Though the lion-king retires afar off

<sup>89</sup> Or it may be complimentary, "his phraseology or composition is exceptionally elegant."

<sup>90</sup> In full—'*O-pi-ta-mo-shun-chan-li-lun*. It was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsiang himself. See Bunyiu Nanjo's Catalogue, No. 1265; Beal's *Tripitaka*, p. 80.

before the pig, nevertheless the wise will know which of the two is best in strength.”<sup>91</sup>

Sanghabhadra having died, they burnt his body and collected his bones, and in a *stupa* attached to the *sangharama*, 200 paces or so to the north-west, in a wood of Amra<sup>92</sup> (*Amo-lo*) trees, they are yet visible.

Besides the Amra wood is a *stupa* in which are relics of the bequeathed body of the master of *sastras* Vimalamitra (Pi-mo-lo-mi-to-lo).<sup>93</sup> This master of *sastras* was a man of Kasmir. He became a disciple and attached himself to the Sarvastivada school. He had read a multitude of *sutras* and investigated various *sastras*; he travelled through the five Indies and made himself acquainted with the mysterious literature of the three *Pitakas*. Having established a name and accomplished his work, being about to retire to his own country, on his way he passed near the *stupa* of Sanghabhadra, the master of *sastras*. Putting his hand (*on it*),<sup>94</sup> he sighed and said, “This master was truly distinguished, his views pure and eminent. After having spread abroad the great principles (*of his faith*), he purposed to overthrow those of other schools and lay firmly the fabric of his own. Why then should his fame not be eternal? I, Vimalamitra, foolish as I am, have received at various times the knowledge of the deep principles of his departed wisdom; his distinguished qualities have been cherished through successive generations. Vasubandhu, though dead, yet lives in the tradition of the school. That which I know so perfectly (*ought to be preserved*). I will write, then, such *sastras* as will cause the learned men of Jambudvipa to forget the name of the Great Vehicle and destroy the fame of Vasubandhu. This will be an immortal work, and will be the accomplishment of my long-meditated design.”

Having finished these words, his mind became confused and wild; his boastful tongue heavily protruded,<sup>95</sup> whilst the hot blood flowed forth. Knowing that his end was approaching, he wrote the following letter to signify his repentance:—“The doctrines of the Great Vehicle in the law of Buddha contain the final principles.<sup>96</sup> Its renown may fade, but its depth of reason is inscrutable. I foolishly dared to attack its distinguished

<sup>91</sup> From the *Jataka* of the lion and the pig who rolled himself in filth. Fausboll, *Ten Jatakas*, p. 65.

<sup>92</sup> Mango trees—*Mangifera indica*.

<sup>93</sup> In Chinese, *Wou hau yau*, “spotless friend.”

<sup>94</sup> “On his heart.”—Julien.

<sup>95</sup> The text has “five tongues”; possibly the symbol *wu*, five, is for *wu*, loquacious or bragging.

<sup>96</sup> This may also be rendered, “the masters who teach the doctrines of the Great Vehicle declare the final (*highest*) principles of the law of Buddha.”

teachers. The reward of my works is plain to all. It is for this I die. Let me address men of wisdom, who may learn from my example to guard well their thoughts, and not give way to the encouragement of doubts." Then the great earth shook again as he gave up life. In the place where he died the earth opened, and there was produced a great ditch. His disciples burnt his body, collected his bones, and raised over them (*a stupa*).<sup>97</sup>

At this time there was an Arhat who, having witnessed his death, sighed and exclaimed, "What unhappiness! what suffering! To-day this master of *sastras* yielding to his feelings and maintaining his own views, abusing the Great Vehicle, has fallen into the deepest hell (*Avichi*)!"

On the north-west frontier of this country, on the eastern shore of the river Ganges, is the town of Mo-yu-lo;<sup>98</sup> it is about 20 li in circuit. The inhabitants are very numerous. The pure streams of the river flow round it on every side; it produces native copper (*teou shih*), pure crystal, and precious vases. Not far from the town, and standing by the Ganges river, is a great Deva temple, where very many miracles of divers sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal. The men of the five Indies call it "the gate of the Ganga river."<sup>99</sup> This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters. Benevolent kings have founded here "a house of merit" (*Punyasala*). This foundation is endowed with funds for providing choice food and medicines to bestow in charity on widows and bereaved persons, on orphans and the destitute.

Going north from this 300 li or so, we come to P'o-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo country (Brahmapura).

#### P'O-LO-HIH-MO-PU-LO (BRAHMAPURA)

This kingdom<sup>100</sup> is about 400 li in circuit, and surrounded on all sides by mountains. The chief town is about 20 li round. It is thickly populated, and the householders are rich. The soil is rich and fertile; the lands are sown and reaped in their seasons. The country produces *teou-shih* (*native copper*) and

<sup>97</sup> There is no word for *stupa* in the original.

<sup>98</sup> That is Mayapura, or Haridwara. It is now on the western bank of the Ganges. Julien makes it Mayura.

<sup>99</sup> Gangadwara.. The canal still exists; the present name, Haridwara, means the gate of Hari or Vishnu: this is a comparatively modern name (Cunningham, p. 353).

<sup>100</sup> Cunningham identifies Brahmapura with British Garhwal and Kumaun (*Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 356).

rock crystal. The climate is rather cold; the people are hardly and uncultivated. Few of the people attend to literature—most of them are engaged in commerce.

The disposition of the men is of a savage kind. There are heretics mixed with believers in Buddha. There are five *sangharamas*, which contain a few priests. There are ten Deva temples, in which persons of different opinions dwell together.

This country is bounded on the north by the great Snowy Mountains, in the midst of which is the country called Su-fa-la-na-kiu-ta-lo (Suvarnagotra).<sup>101</sup> From this country comes a superior sort of gold, and hence the name. It is extended from east to west, and contracted from north to south. It is the same as the country of the "eastern women."<sup>102</sup> For ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women*. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing about the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, and that is all. The land produces winter wheat and much cattle, sheep, and horses. The climate is extremely cold (*icy*). The people are hasty and impetuous.

On the eastern side this country is bordered by the Fan kingdom (Tibet), on the west by San-po-ho (Sampaña or Malasa (?)), on the north by Khotan.

Going south-east from Ma-ti-pu-lo 400 li or so, we come to the country of Kiu-pi-shwong-na.

#### KIU-PI-SHWONG-NA [GOVISANA]

This kingdom<sup>103</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital about 14 or 15 li. It is naturally strong, being fenced in with crags and precipices. The population is numerous. We find on every side flowers, and groves, and lakes (*ponds*) succeeding each other in regular order. The climate and the products resemble those of Mo-ti-pu-lo. The manners of the people are pure and honest. They are diligent in study and given to good works. There are many believers in false doctrine, who seek present happiness only. There are two *sangharamas* and about 100

<sup>101</sup> In Chinese *kin-shi*, "golden people." Below it is said that San-po-ho was limited on the west by Su-fa-la-na-kiu-to-lo (Suvarnagotra, called also the kingdom of women), which itself touched on the east the country of T'u-fan (Tibet), and on the north the kingdom of Yu-tien (Khotan). Suvarnagotra is here placed on the frontier of Brahmapura.

<sup>102</sup> There is a country of the "*western women*" named by Hiuen Tsiang in Book xi. See also Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 397.

<sup>103</sup> Julien restores this to Govisana. Cunningham is satisfied that the old fort near the village of Ujain represents the ancient city of Govisana. This village is just one mile to the east of Kasipur. Hwui-lieh does not mention this country, but reckons 400 li from Matipura to Ahikshetra in a south-easterly direction. This distance and bearing are nearly correct.

priests, who mostly study the Little Vehicle. There are thirty Deva temples with different sectaries, who congregate together without distinction.

Besides the chief town is an old *sangharama* in which is a *stupa* built by King Asoka. It is about 200 feet high; here Buddha when living preached for a month on the most essential points of religion. By the side is a place where there are traces of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here. At the side of this place are two small *stupas* containing the hair and nail-parings of Tathagata. They are about 10 feet high.

Going from this south-east about 400 li, we come to the country of 'O-hi-chi-ta-lo (Ahikshetra).

#### 'O-HI-CHI-TA-LO [AHIKSHETRA]

This country<sup>104</sup> is about 3000 li in circuit, and the capital about 17 or 18 li. It is naturally strong, being flanked by the mountain crags. It produces wheat, and there are many woods and fountains. The climate is soft and agreeable, and the people sincere and apply themselves to learning. They are clever and well informed. There are about ten *sangharamas*, and some 1000 priests who study the Little Vehicle of the Ching-liang school.<sup>105</sup>

There are some nine Deva temples with 300 sectaries. They sacrifice to Isvara, and belong to the company of "ashes-sprinklers" (Pasupatas).

Outside the chief town is a Naga tank, by the side of which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. It was here the Tathagata, when in the world, preached the law for the sake of a Naga-raja for seven days.<sup>106</sup> By the side of it are four little *stupas*; here are traces where, in days gone by, the four past Buddhas sat and walked.

From this going south 260 or 270 li, and crossing the Ganges river, proceeding then in a south-west direction, we come to Pi-lo-shan-na (Virasana) country.

#### PI-LO-SHAN-NA [VIRASANA?]

This country<sup>107</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit. The capital town is about 10 li. The climate and produce are the same as those of

<sup>104</sup> Ahikshetra, Ahikshatra, or Ahichchhatra, a place named in the *Mahabharata*, i. 5515, 6348; *Harivamsa* 1114; Panini, iii. i. 7. It was the capital of North Panchala or Rohilkhand. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. i. p. 747; Wilson's *Vish.-pur.* (Hall's ed.), vol. ii. p. 161.

<sup>105</sup> In the text *wang* is a mistake for *ching*, but the school is properly the Sammatiya school.

<sup>106</sup> The old story connected with this place was that Raja Adi was found by Drona sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent, hence the name Ahi-chhatra (*serpent canopy*). This story was probably appropriated by the Buddhists. For a full account of this place and its present condition, see Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. i. p. 259 ff.

<sup>107</sup> Restored (doubtfully) by Julien to Virasana. General Cunningham

Ahikshetra. The habits of the people are violent and headstrong. They are given to study and the arts. They are chiefly heretics (*attached in faith to heresy*) ; there are a few who believe in the law of Buddha. There are two *sangharamas* with about 300 priests, who attach themselves to the study of the Great Vehicle. There are five Deva temples occupied by sectaries of different persuasions.

In the middle of the chief city is an old *sangharama*, within which is a *stupa*, which, although in ruins, is still rather more than 100 feet high. It was built by Asoka-raja. Tathagata, when in the world in old days, preached here for seven days on the *Wen-kiai-chu-king* (*Skandha-dhuta-upasthana Sutra?*).<sup>108</sup> by the side of it are the traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked in exercise.

Going hence south-east 200 li or so, we come to the country of Kie-pi-tha (Kapitha).<sup>109</sup>

#### KIE-PI-THA [KAPITHA]

This country<sup>110</sup> is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital 20 li or so. The climate and produce resemble those of Pi-lo-shan-na. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable. The men are much given to learning. There are four *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests, who study the Ching-liang (Sammatiya) school of the Little Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples, where sectaries of all persuasions dwell. They all honour and sacrifice to<sup>111</sup> Mahesvara (Ta-tsue-t'sai-tien).

To the east of the city 20 li or so is a great *sangharama* of beautiful construction, throughout which the artist has exhibited his greatest skill. The sacred image of the holy form (*of Buddha*) is most wonderfully magnificent. There are about 100 priests here, who study the doctrines of the Sammatiya (Ching-liang)

ham identifies it (conjecturally) with a great mound of ruins called Atranjikhera, four miles to the south of Karsana. Hiuen Tsiang probably crossed the Ganges near Sahawar, a few miles from Soron : this appears to answer to the distance of 260 or 270 li—about 50 miles. General Cunningham says 23 to 25 miles, but on his Map x. the distance is 50 miles.

<sup>108</sup> Julien (p. 236, n. 1) renders this literally "one who dwells in the world called *Ouen-kiai*;" but *wenkiai* represents *skandha-dhatu*, and *chu* is the Chinese symbol for *upasthana*.

<sup>109</sup> Written formerly Sang-kia-she Sankasya.

<sup>110</sup> This corresponds with the present Sankisa, the site of which was discovered by General Cunningham in 1842. It is just 40 miles (200 li) south-east of Atranji. The name of Kapitha has entirely disappeared, although there is a trace of it in a story referred to in *Arch. Surv. of India*, vol. i. p. 271, n. Dr. Kern thinks that the astronomer Varaha Mihira was probably educated at Kapitha.

<sup>111</sup> I translate *sz* by "sacrifice," because of the curious analogy with words of the same meaning used in this sense in other languages (compare the Greek *poieo*; Lat. *sacra facere*; Sansk. *kri*, &c.) It may mean simply "to worship" or "serve."

school. Several myriads of "pure men" (*religious laymen*) live by the side of this convent.

Within the great enclosure of the *sangharama* there are three precious ladders, which are arranged side by side from north to south, with their faces for descent to the east. This is where Tathagata came down or his return from the *Trayastrimsas* heaven.<sup>112</sup> In old days Tathagata, going up from the "wood of the conqueror" (Shing-lin, Jetavana), ascended to the heavenly mansions, and dwelt in the *Saddharma Hall*,<sup>113</sup> preaching the law for the sake of his mother. Three months having elapsed, being desirous to descend to earth, Sakra, king of the Devas, excercising his spiritual power, erected these precious ladders. The middle one was of yellow gold, the left-hand one of pure crystal, the right-hand one of white silver.

Tathagata rising from the *Saddharma hall*, accompanied by a multitude of Devas, descended by the middle ladder. Maha-Brahma-raja (Fan), holding a white *chamara*, came down by the white ladder on the right, whilst Sakra (Shi), king of Devas (Devendra), holding a precious canopy (*parasol*), descended by the crystal ladder on the left. Meanwhile the company of Devas in the air scattered flowers and chanted their praises in his honour. Some centuries ago the ladders still existed in their original position, but now they have sunk into the earth and have disappeared. The neighbouring princes, grieved at not having seen them, built up of bricks and chased stones ornamented with jewels, on the ancient foundations (*three ladders*) resembling the old ones. They are about 70 feet high. Above them they have built a *vihara* in which is a stone image of Buddha, and on either hide of this is a ladder with the figures of Brahma and Sakra, just as they appeared when first rising to accompany Buddha in his descent.

On the outside of the *vihara*, but close by its side, there is a stone column about 70 feet high which was erected by Asoka-raja (Wu-yeu). It is of a purple colour, and shining as if with moisture. The substance is hard and finely grained. Above it is a lion sitting on his haunches,<sup>114</sup> and facing the ladder. There

<sup>112</sup> This story of Buddha's descent from heaven is a popular one among Buddhists. It is described by Fa-hian (cap. xvii.), and is represented in the sculptures at Sanchi, *Tree and Serp. Wor.* pl. xxvii. fig. 3, and Bharhut, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xvii. See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S. vol. v. pp. 164 ff. For the *Trayastrimsas*, see Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 541. and *Lotus*, pp. 219, 249, 279.

<sup>113</sup> That is, the preaching hall used by Sakra and the gods of the "thirty-three heaven" for religious purposes.

<sup>114</sup> *Ts'un ku*, "sitting in a squatting position." This expression is rendered by Julien "lying down" (*couchant*), but it appears to mean "sitting on his heels or haunches"; but in either case the position of the animal would differ from that of the standing elephant discovered by General Cunningham at Sankisa (*Arch. Survey*, vol. i. p. 278).

are carved figures inlaid,<sup>115</sup> of wonderful execution on the four sides of the pillar and around it. As men are good or bad these figures appear on the pillar (*or disappear*).

Besides the precious ladder (*temple*), and not far from it, is a *stupa* where there are traces left of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

By the side of it is another *stupa*. This is where Tathagata, when in the world, bathed himself. By the side of this is a *vihara* on the spot where Tathagata entered *Samadhi*. By the side of the *vihara* there is a long foundation wall 50 paces in length and 7 feet high; this is the place where Tathagata took exercise.<sup>116</sup> On the spot where his feet trod are figures of the lotus flower. On the right and left of the wall are (*two*) little *stupas*, erected by Sakra and Brahma-raja.

In front of the *stupas* of Sakra and Brahma is the place where Utpalavarna (Lin-hwa-sih) the Bhikshuni,<sup>117</sup> wishing to be the first to see Buddha, was changed into a Chakravartin-raja when Tathagata was returning from the palace of Isvara Deva to Jambudvipa. At this time Subhuti (Su-pu-ti),<sup>118</sup> quietly seated in his stone cell, thought thus with himself: "Now Buddha is returning down to dwell with men—angels lead and attend him. And now why should I go to the place? Have I not heard him declare that all *existing things* are void of reality? Since this is the nature of all things, I have already seen with my eyes of wisdom the spiritual (*fa*) body of Buddha."<sup>119</sup>

At this time Utpalavarna Bhikshuni, being anxious to be the first to see Buddha, was changed into a Chakravartin monarch, with the seven gems<sup>120</sup> (*ratnani*) accompanying her, and with the four kinds of troops to escort and defend her. Coming to the place where the lord of the world was, she reassumed her form as a Bhikshuni, on which Tathagata addressed her and said: "You are not the first to see me! Subhuti (Chen-hien), compreh-

<sup>115</sup> Teau low, vid. Med. sub loc.

<sup>116</sup> There was a similar stone path at Nalanda with lotus flowers carved on it. (See I-tsing and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 571).

<sup>117</sup> The restoration to Utpalavarna is confirmed by Fa-hian's account (c. xvii). Julien had first Pundarikavarna, which he afterwards altered to Padmayati.

<sup>118</sup> Subhuti is the representative of the later idealism of the Buddhist creed. He is the mouthpiece for arguments put forth in the *Prajna Paramita* works (the *Vajrachchedika*), to show that *all things* are unreal, the body of the law (*dharma-kaya*) being the only reality.

<sup>119</sup> This differs somewhat from Julien's version. He gives "je me suis attaché à la nature de toutes les lois;" but it appears to me that the construction is *chu-fa-sing-shi*, "the nature of things (*fa—dharma*) being thus (*shi*), therefore I have already seen," &c.

<sup>120</sup> For the Seven Precious Things belonging to a wheel king, see Senart, *La Legende du Buddha*, c. 1.

hending the emptiness of all things, he has beheld my spiritual body (*dharma-kaya*)."<sup>121</sup>

Within the precinct of the sacred traces miracles are constantly exhibited.

To the south-east of the great *stupa* is a Naga tank. He defends the sacred traces with care, and being thus spiritually protected, one cannot regard them lightly. Years may effect their destruction, but no human power can do so. Going north-west from this less than 200 li, we come to the kingdom of Kie-pokio-she (Kanyakubja).

END OF BOOK IV.

<sup>121</sup> For an account of the three bodies of all the Buddhas, see J. R. A. S., N.S., vol. xiii. p. 555.

## BOOK V

*Contains the following countries:—(1) Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo; (2) 'O-yu-t'o; (3) 'O-ye-mu-k'ie; (4) Po-lo-ye-kia; (5) Kiao-shang-mi; (6) Pi-su-kia.*

### KIE-JO-KIO-SHE-KWO [KANYAKUBJA]

This kingdom is about 4000 li in circuit; the capital,<sup>1</sup> on the west, borders on the river Ganges.<sup>2</sup> It is about 20 li in length and 4 or 5 li in breadth. The city has a dry ditch<sup>3</sup> round it, with strong and lofty towers facing one another. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds,<sup>4</sup> bright and pure and shining like mirrors, (*are seen on every side*). Valuable merchandise is collected here in great quantites. The people are well off and contented, the houses are rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abound in every place, and the land is sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate is agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They are noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they use ornamented and bright-shining (*fabrics*). They apply themselves much to learning, and in their travels are very much given to discussion<sup>5</sup> (*on religious subjects*). (*The fame of*) their pure language is far spread. The believers in Buddha and the heretics are about

<sup>1</sup> The capital, Kanyakubja (Kie-jo-kio-she-kwo), now called Kanauj. The distance from Kapitha or Sankisa is given by Hiuen Tsiang as somewhat less than 200 li, and the bearing north-west. There is a mistake here, as the bearing is south-east, and the distance somewhat less than 300 li. Kanauj was for many hundred years the Hindu capital of Northern India, but the existing remains are few and unimportant. Kanauj is mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. vii. c. 2, 22), who calls it *Kauogiza*. The modern town occupies only the north end of the site of the old city, including the whole of what is now called the *Kilah* or citadel (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, p. 380). This is probably the part alluded to by Hiuen Tsiang in the context. It is triangular in shape, and each side is covered by a ditch or a dry *nala*, as stated in the text. Fa-hian places Kanauj 7 *yojanas* south-east of Samkisa.

<sup>2</sup> That is, borders or lies near the western bank of the Ganges. Julien translates it, "is near the Ganges."

<sup>3</sup> The reference seems to be to the inner or fortified portion (citadel) of the capital city. Julien translates as if it referred to all the cities. The symbol *hwang* means "a dry ditch."

<sup>4</sup> Or the ponds *only*.

<sup>5</sup> This passage, which is confused, seems to refer to their going about here and there to discuss questions relating to religion. The purity of their discourses, i.e., the clearness of their arguments, is wide-spread or renowned.

equal in number. There are some hundred *sangharamas* with 10,000 priests. They study both the Great and Little Vehicle. There are 200 Deva temples with several thousand followers.

The old capital of Kanyakubja, where men lived for a long time, was called Kusumapura.<sup>6</sup> The king's name was Brahma-datta.<sup>7</sup> His religious merit and wisdom in former births entailed on him the inheritance of a literary and military character that caused his name to be widely reverenced and feared. The whole of Jambudvipa resounded with his fame, and the neighbouring provinces were filled with knowledge of it. He had 1000 sons famed for wisdom and courage, and 100 daughters of singular grace and beauty.

At this time there was a Rishi living on the border of the Ganges river, who, having entered a condition of ecstasy, by his spiritual power passed several myriad of years in this condition until his form became like a decayed tree. Now it happened that some wandering birds having assembled in a flock near this spot, one of them let drop on the shoulder (*of the Rishi*) a Nyagrodha (*Ni-ku-liu*) fruit, which grew up, and through summer and winter afforded him a welcome protection and shade. After a succession of years he awoke from his ecstasy. He arose and desired to get rid of the tree, but feared to injure the nests of the birds in it. The men of the time, extolling his virtue, called him "The great-tree (*Mahavriksha*) Rishi." The Rishi gazing once on the river-bank as he wandered forth to behold the woods and trees, saw the daughters of the king following one another and gambolling together. Then the love of the world (*the world of desire—Kamadhatu*), which holds and pollutes the mind, was engendered in him. Immediately he went to Kusumapura for the purpose of paying his salutations to the king and asking (*for his daughter*).

The king, hearing of the arrival of the Rishi, went himself to meet and salute him, and thus addressed him graciously : "Great Rishi! you were reposing in peace—what has disturbed you?"<sup>8</sup> The Rishi answered, "After having reposed in the forest many years, on awaking from my trance, in walking to and fro I saw the king's daughters ; a polluted and lustful heart was produced in me, and now I have come from far to request (*one of your daughters in marriage*)."

The king, hearing this, and seeing no way to escape, said to the Rishi, "Go back to your place and rest, and let me beg you to await the happy period." The Rishi, hearing the mandate,

<sup>6</sup> Keu-su-mo-pu-lo, in Chinese Hwa-kung, flower palace.

<sup>7</sup> In Chinese Fan-sheu, "Brahma-given."

<sup>8</sup> Or it may be rendered, "What outward matter has been able to excite for a while the composed passions of the great Rishi?" It does not seem probable that the king was acquainted with the Rishi's intention ; he could not, therefore, use the words as if expostulating with him.

returned to the forest. The king then asked his daughters in succession, but none of them consented to be given in marriage.

The king, fearing the power of the Rishi, was much grieved and afflicted thereat. And now the youngest daughter of the king, watching an opportunity when the king was at liberty, with an engaging manner said, "The king, my father, has his thousand sons, and on every side his dependents" are reverently obedient. Why, then, are you sad as if you were afraid of something?"

The king replied, "The great-tree-Rishi has been pleased to look down on you<sup>10</sup> to seek a marriage with one of you, and you have all turned away and not consented to comply with his request. Now this Rishi possesses great power, and is able to bring either calamities or good fortune. If he is thwarted he will be exceedingly angry, and in his displeasure destroy my kingdom, and put an end to our religious worship, and bring disgrace on me and my ancestors. As I consider this unhappiness indeed I have much anxiety."

The girl-daughter replied, "Dismiss your heavy grief; ours is the fault. Let me, I pray, in my poor person promote the prosperity of the country."

The king, hearing her words, was overjoyed, and ordered his chariot to accompany her with gifts to her marriage. Having arrived at the hermitage of the Rishi, he offered his respectful greetings and said, "Great Rishi! since you condescended to fix your mind on external things and to regard the world with complacency, I venture to offer you my young daughter to cherish and provide for you (*water and sweep*)."<sup>11</sup> The Rishi, looking at her, was displeased, and said to the king, "You despise my old age, surely, in offering me this ungainly thing."

The king said, "I asked all my daughters in succession, but they were unwilling to comply with your request: this little one alone offered to serve you."

The Rishi was extremely angry, and uttered this curse (*evil charm*), saying, "Let the ninety-nine girls (*who refused me*) this moment become hump-backed; being thus deformed, they will find no one to marry them in all the world." The king, having sent a messenger in haste, found that already they had become deformed. From this time the town had this other name of the Kuih-niu-shing (Kanyakubja), *i.e.*, "city of the humped-backed women."<sup>12</sup>

The reigning king is of the Vaisya<sup>12</sup> caste. His name is

<sup>9</sup> His ten thousand kingdoms.

<sup>10</sup> That is, on the daughters generally.

<sup>11</sup> The *Puranas* refer this story to the curse of the sage Vaya on the hundred daughters of Kusanabha.

<sup>12</sup> Vaisya is here, perhaps, the name of a Rajput clan (Bais or Vaisa), not the mercantile class or caste among the Hindus (Cunning-

Harshavardhana (Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na).<sup>13</sup> A commission of officers hold the land. During two generations there have been three kings. (*The king's*) father was called Po-lo-kie-lo-fa-t'an-na (Prabhakaravardhana);<sup>14</sup> his elder brother's name was Rajyavardhana (Ho-lo-she-fa-t'an-na).<sup>15</sup>

Rajyavardhana came to the throne as the elder brother, and ruled with virtue. At this time the king of Karnasuvarana (Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na),<sup>16</sup>—a kingdom of Eastern India—whose name was Sasangka (She-shang-kia),<sup>17</sup> frequently addressed his ministers in these words : "If a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the (*mother*) kingdom." On this they asked the king to a conference and murdered him.

The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-ni (Bhandi),<sup>18</sup> whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers, said, "The destiny of the nation is to

ham, *op. cit.*, p. 377). Baiswara, the country of the Bais Rajputs extends from the neighbourhood of Lakhnau to Khara-Manikpur, and thus comprises nearly the whole of Southern Oudh (*ib.*).

<sup>13</sup> In Chinese, Hi-tsang, "increase of joy." This is the celebrated Siladitya Harshavardhana, whose reign (according to Max Muller, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii. p. 234) began 610 A.D. and ended about 650 A.D. Others place the beginning of his reign earlier, 606 or 607 A.D. (See Bendall's *Catalogue*, Int., p. xli.) He was the founder of an era (*Sriharsha*) formerly used in various parts of North India. Bendall, *op. cit.*, Int., p. xi; Hall's *Vasavadatta*, pp. 51 f.; *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. x. pp. 38 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 196 ff; Reinaud, *Fragm. Arab. et Pers.*, p. 139.

<sup>14</sup> In Chinese, Tso kwong, to cause brightness. The symbol *p'o* is omitted in the text.

<sup>15</sup> In Chinese, Wang tsang, kingly increase.

<sup>16</sup> In Chinese, Kin'rh, "gold-ear." The town of Ranjamati, 12 miles north of Murshidaad, in Bengal, stands on the site of an old city called Kurusona-ka-gadh, supposed to be a Bengali corruption of the name in the text.—*J. As. S. Beng.*, vol. xxii. pp. 281 f.; *J. R. As. S.*, N.S., vol. vi, p. 248; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. p. 197 n.

<sup>17</sup> In Chinese, Yueh, the moon. This was Sasangka Narendra Gupta, king of Gauda or Bengal.

<sup>18</sup> Julien restores Po-ni to Bani. In Chinese it is equal to Pin-jiu, "distinguished." Bana, the well-known author of the *Harshacharita*, informs us that his name was Bhandin. He is referred to in the preface to Boyd's *Nagananda*. I-tsing relates that Siladitya kept all the best writers, especially poets, at his court, and that he (*the king*) used to join in the literary recitals; among the rest that he would assume the part of Jimutavahana Bodhisattva, and transform himself into a Naga amid the sound of song and instrumental music. *Nan hae*, § 32, k. iv. p. 6. Now Jimutavahana (*Shing yun*, "cloud chariot") is the hero of the *Nagananda*. The king Sri Harshadeva, therefore, who is mentioned as the author both of the *Ratnavali* and the *Nagananda*, is Siladitya or Kanauj; and I-tsing has left us the notice that this king himself took the part of the hero during the performance of the *Nagananda*. The real author, however, Professor Cowell thinks, was Dhavaka, one of the poets residing at the court of Sri Harsha, whilst Bana composed the *Ratnavali*. The *Jataka-mala* was also the work of the poets of Sri Harsha's court. *Abstract &c.*, p. 197.

be fixed to-day. The old king's son is dead : the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate, and his disposition, heaven-conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority : let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks." They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities.

On this the chief ministers and the magistrates all exhorted him to take authority, saying, "Let the royal prince attend ! The accumulated merit and the conspicuous virtue of the former king were so illustrious as to cause his kingdom to be most happily governed. When he was followed by Rajyavardhana we thought he would end his years (*as king*) ; but owing to the fault of his ministers, he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the kingdom has suffered a great affliction ; but it is the fault of your ministers. The opinion of the people, as shown in their songs, proves their real submission to your eminent qualities. Reign, then, with glory over the land ; conquer the enemies of your family ; wash out the insult laid on your kingdom and the deeds of your illustrious father. Great will your merit be in such a case. We pray you reject not our prayer."

The prince replied, "The government of a country is a responsible office and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence ; but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown, that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world and forget my own insufficiency. Now, therefore, on the banks of the Ganges there is a statue of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva which has evidenced many spiritual wonders. I will go to it and ask advice (*request a response*)."  
Forthwith, coming to the spot where the figure of the Bodhisattva was, he remained before it fasting and praying. The Bodhisattva recognising his sincere intention (*heart*), appeared in a bodily form and inquired, "What do you seek that you are so earnest in your supplications ?" The prince answered, "I have suffered under a load of affliction. My dear father, indeed, is dead, who was full of kindness ; and my brother, humane and gentle as he was, has been odiously murdered. In the presence of these calamities I humble myself as one of little virtue ; nevertheless, the people would exalt me to the royal dignity, to fill the high place of my illustrious father. Yet I am, indeed, but ignorant and foolish. In my trouble I ask the holy direction (of the Bodhisattva)."

The Bodhisattva replied, "In your former existence you

lived in this forest as a hermit (*a forest mendicant*),<sup>19</sup> and by your earnest diligence and unremitting attention you inherited a power of religious merit which resulted in your birth as a king's son. The king of the country, Karnasuvarna, has overturned the law of Buddha. Now when you succeed to the royal estate, you should in the same proportion exercise towards it the utmost love and pity.<sup>20</sup> If you give your mind to compassionate the condition of the distressed and to cherish them, then before long you shall rule over the Five Indies. If you would establish your authority, attend to my instruction, and by my secret power you shall receive additional enlightenment, so that not one of your neighbours shall be able to triumph over you. Ascend not the lion-throne, and call not yourself Maharaja."<sup>21</sup>

Having received these instructions, he departed and assumed the royal office. He called himself the King's Son (Kumara); his title was Siladitya. And now he commanded his ministers, saying, "The enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth. Therefore do you, people and officers, unite with one heart and put out your strength." Accordingly they assembled all the soldiers of the kingdom, summoned the masters of arms (*champions*, or, *teachers of the art of fighting*). They had a body of 5000 elephants, a body of 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot-soldiers. He went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient;

<sup>19</sup> "A forest mendicant" is the translation of Aranya Bhikshu (*lan-yo-pi-ts'u*). It would appear from the text that the place where this statue of Avalokitesvara stood was a wild or desert spot near the Ganges.

<sup>20</sup> So I understand the passage as relating to a corresponding favour to the law of Buddha, in return for the persecution of Sasangka.

<sup>21</sup> This appears to be the advice or direction given oracularly (see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S. vol. xv. p. 334)—

fi shing sse tseu che tso  
fi ching ta wang che ho.

The promise is, that if this advice is followed, then, "by my mysterious energy (or, in the darkness), shall be added the benefit (*happiness*) of light, so that in the neighbouring kingdoms there shall be no one strong enough to resist (*your arms*)."<sup>22</sup> Siladitya did, in fact, conquer the whole of North India, and was only checked in the south by Pulakesi (the Pulakesa of Hiuen Tsiang, book xi. *infra*), whose title appears to have been Paramesvara, given him on account of his victory over Siladitya. (See Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. i. p. 281; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 164, 219, &c.) I may here perhaps observe that I-tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, notices his own visit to a great lord of Eastern India called Jih-yueh-kun, i.e., Chandraditya rajabhritya (*kwan*); this is probably the Chandraditya, elder brother of Vikramaditya, the grandson of Pulakesi Vallabha, the conqueror of Sri Harsha Siladitya (vid. *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. i. p. 260; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii. pp. 163, 219; I-tsing, *Nan hae*, k. iv. fol. 6 b, and k. iv. fol. 12 a). I-tsing mentions that Chandraditya was a poet who had versified the *Vessantara Jataka*.

the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unbelted (*unhelmeted*). After six years he had subdued the Five Indies. Having thus enlarged his territory, he increased his forces ; he had 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. After thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace. He then practised to the utmost the rules of temperance,<sup>22</sup> and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or to eat. He forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies on pain of death without pardon. He built on the banks of the river Ganges several thousand *stupas*, each about 100 feet high ; in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices,<sup>23</sup> provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians,<sup>24</sup> with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint. On all spots where there were holy traces (*of Buddha*) he raised *sangharamas*.

Once in five years he held the great assembly called *Moksha*. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, only reserving the soldiers' arms, which were unfit to give as alms.<sup>25</sup> Every year he assembled the Sramanas from all countries, and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in charity the four kinds of alms (viz., food, drink, medicine, clothing). He decorated the throne of the law (*the pulpit*) and extensively ornamented (*arranged*) the oratories.<sup>26</sup> He ordered the priests to carry on discussions, and himself judged of their several arguments, whether they were weak or powerful. He rewarded the good and punished the wicked, degraded the evil and promoted the men of talent. If any one (*of the priests*) walked according to the moral precepts, and was distinguished in addition for purity in religion (*reason*), he himself conducted such an one to "*the lion-throne*" and received from him the precepts of the law. If any one, though distinguished for purity of life, had no distinction for learning, he was reverenced, but not highly honoured. If any one disregarded the rules of morality and was notorious for his disregard of propriety, him he banished from the country, and would neither see him nor listen to him. If any of the neighbouring princes or their chief ministers lived religiously, with earnest purpose, and aspired to a virtuous character without regarding labour, he led him by the hand to occupy the same

<sup>22</sup> Temperate restriction ; but *heen* is difficult in this sense.

<sup>23</sup> Punyasalas—*Tsing-leu*, pure lodging houses, or *choultries*.

<sup>24</sup> There is an error in the text, as pointed out by Julien, n. 2. The text may mean he placed in these buildings "doctor's medicines," or "physicians and medicines."

<sup>25</sup> The expression in the text is *Tan-she*, which, as Julien has observed, is a hybrid term for giving away in *dana*, or charity.

<sup>26</sup> The expression may refer to mats or seats for discussion or for religious services.

seat with himself, and called him "illustrious friend ;" but he disdained to look upon those of a different character. If it was necessary to transact state business, he employed couriers who continually went and returned. If there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them. Wherever he moved he dwelt in a ready-made building<sup>27</sup> during his sojourn. During the excessive rains of the three months of the rainy season he would not travel thus. Constantly in his travelling-palace he would provide choice meats for men of all sorts of religion.<sup>28</sup> The Buddhist priests would be perhaps a thousand ; the Brahmans, five hundred. He divided each day into three portions. During the first he occupied himself on matters of Government ; during the second he practised himself in religious devotion (*merit*) without interruption, so that the day was not sufficiently long. When I<sup>29</sup> first received the invitation of Kumara-raja, I said I would go from Magadha to Kamarupa. At this time Siladitya-raja was visiting different parts of his empire, and found himself as Kie-mi<sup>30</sup>-ou-ki-lo, when he gave the following order to Kumara-raja : "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sramana you are entertaining at the Nalanda convent." On this, coming with Kumara-raja we attended the assembly. The king, Siladitya, after the fatigue of the journey was over, said, "From what country do you come, and what do you seek in your travels ?"

He said in reply, "I come from the great Tang country, and I ask permission to seek for the law (*religious books*) of Buddha."

The king said, "Whereabouts is the great Tang country ? by what road do you travel ? and is it far from this, or near ?"

In reply he said, "My country lies to the north-east from this several myriads of li ; it is the kingdom which in India is called Mahachina."

The king answered, "I have heard that the country of Mahachina has a king called Ts'in,<sup>31</sup> the son of heaven, when young

<sup>27</sup> A hut or dwelling run up for the purpose. It seems to refer to a temporary rest-house, made probably of some light material. From the next sentence it seems that he carried about with him the materials for constructing such an abode.

<sup>28</sup> It will be seen from this that Siladitya, although leaning to Buddhism, was a patron of other religious sects.

<sup>29</sup> This refers to the pilgrim himself. The Kumara-raja who invited him was the king of Kamarupa, the western portion of Assam (see Book x.) Siladitya was also called Kumara. The invitation referred to will be found in the last section of the 4th book of the Life of Hiuen Tsiang.

<sup>30</sup> Here *mi* is an error for *chu*. The restoration will be Kajughira or Kajinghara, a small kingdom on the banks of the Ganges, about 92 miles from Champa. (*Vide V. de St. Martin, Memoire*, p. 387).

<sup>31</sup> The context and Hiuen Tsiang's reply indicate the reference to the first emperor (Hwang-ti) *She*, or *Urh she*, of the Ts'in dynasty (221 B.C.) It was he who broke up the feudal dependencies of China and

distinguished for his spiritual abilities, when old then (called) 'divine warrior.'<sup>32</sup> The empire in former generations was in disorder and confusion, everywhere divided and in disunion ; soldiers were in conflict, and all the people were afflicted with calamity. Then the king of Ts'in, son of heaven, who had conceived from the first vast purposes, brought into exercise all his pity and love ; he brought about a right understanding, and pacified and settled all within the seas. His laws and instruction spread on every side. People from other countries brought under his influence declared themselves ready to submit to his rule. The multitude whom he nourished generously sang in their songs of the prowess of the king of Ts'in. I have learned long since his praises sung thus in verse. Are the records (*laudatory hymns*) of his great (*complete*) qualities well founded ? Is this the king of the great Tang, of which you speak ?"

Replying he said, "China is the country of our former kings, but the 'great Tang' is the country of our present ruler. Our king in former times, before he became hereditary heir to the throne (*before the empire was established*), was called the sovereign of Ts'in, but now he is called the 'king of heaven' (*emperor*). At the end of the former dynasty<sup>33</sup> the people had no ruler, civil war raged on every hand and caused confusion, the people were destroyed, when the king of Ts'in, by his supernatural gifts, exercised his love and compassion on every hand ; by his power the wicked were destroyed on every side, the eight regions<sup>34</sup> found rest, and the ten thousand kingdoms brought tribute. He cherished creatures of every kind, submitted with respect to the three precious ones.<sup>35</sup> He lightened the burdens of the people and mitigated punishment, so that the country abounded in resources and the people enjoyed complete rest. It would be difficult to recount all the great changes he accomplished."

Siladitya-raja replied, "Very excellent indeed ! the people are happy in the hands of such a holy king."

centralised the government. He built the great wall to keep out invaders, settled the country, and established the dynasty of the Ts'in. For his conduct in destroying the books, see Mayer's *Manual*, § 368. The reference (farther on) to the songs sung in honour of this king illustrates the character of Siladitya, who was himself a poet.

<sup>32</sup> The first Japanese emperor was called *Zin mu*, divine warrior ; the allusion in the text may be to the Ts'in emperor being the first to style himself *Hwang ti* ; or it may be simply that he was like a god in the art of war.

<sup>33</sup> This can hardly refer to the Sui dynasty, which preceded the "great Tang," as Julien says (p. 256 n.), but to the troubles which prevailed at the end of the Chow dynasty, which preceded the Ts'in.

<sup>34</sup> That is, the eight regions of the empire, or of the world.

<sup>35</sup> It is widely believed in China that the first Buddhist missionaries arrived there in the reign of the Ts'in emperor. For the story of their imprisonment and deliverance see *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 3.

Siladitya-raja being about to return to the city of Kanyakubja, convoked a religious assembly. Followed by several hundreds of thousand people, he took his place on the southern bank of the river Ganges, whilst Kumara-raja, attended by several tens of thousands, took his place on the northern bank, and thus, divided by the stream of the river, they advanced on land and water. The two kings led the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers (*of the four kinds*) ; some also were in boats ; some were on elephants, sounding drums and blowing horns, playing on flutes and harps. After ninety days they arrived at the city of Kanyakubja, (*and rested*) on the western shore of the Ganges river, in the middle of a flowery copse.

Then the kings of the twenty countries who had received instruction from Siladitya-raja assembled with the Sramanas and Brahmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. The king in advance had constructed on the west side of the river a great *sangharama*, and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feet in height ; in the middle he had placed a golden statue of Buddha, of the same height as the king himself. On the south of the tower he placed a precious altar, in the place for washing the image of Buddha. From this north-east 14 or 15 li he erected another rest-house. It was now the second month of spring-time ; from the first day of the month he had presented exquisite food to the Sramanas and Brahmans till the 21st day ; all along, from the temporary palace<sup>36</sup> to the *sangharama*, there were highly decorated pavilions, and places where musicians were stationed, who raised the sounds of their various instruments. The king, on leaving the resting-hall (*palace of travel*), made them bring forth on a gorgeously caparisoned great elephant a golden statue of Buddha about three feet high, and raised aloft. On the left went the king, Siladitya, dressed as Sakra, holding a precious canopy, whilst Kumara-raja, dressed as Brahma-raja, holding a white *chamara*, went on the right. Each of them had as an escort 500 war-elephants clad in armour ; in front and behind the statue of Buddha went 100 great elephants, carrying musicians, who sounded their drums and raised their music. The king, Siladitya, as he went, scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship. Having first washed the image in scented water at the altar, the king then himself bore it on his shoulder to the western tower, where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems. At this time there were but about twenty Sramanas following in the procession, the kings of the various countries forming the escort. After the feast they assembled the

<sup>36</sup> The palace of travel, erected during a travelling excursion.

different men of learning, who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects. At evening-tide the king retired in state to his palace of travel.

Thus every day he carried the golden statue as before, till at length on the day of separation a great fire suddenly broke out in the tower, and the pavilion over the gate of the *sangharama* was also in flames. Then the king exclaimed, "I have exhausted the wealth of my country in charity, and following the example of former kings, I have built this *sangharama*, and I have aimed to distinguish myself by superior deeds, but my poor attempts (*feeble qualities*) have found no return ! In the presence of such calamities as these, what need I of further life ?"

Then with incense-burning he prayed, and with this vow (*oath*), "Thanks to my previous merit, I have come to reign over all India ; let the force of my religious conduct destroy this fire : or if not, let me die !" Then he rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when suddenly, as if by a single blow the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared.

The kings beholding the strange event, were filled with redoubled reverence : but he (*the king*), with unaltered face and unchanged accents, addressed the princes thus : "The fire has consumed this crowning work of my religious life. What think you of it ?"

The princes, prostrate at his feet, with tears, replied, "The work which marked the crowning act of your perfected merit, and which we hoped would be handed down to future ages, has in a moment (*a dawn*) been reduced to ashes. How can we bear to think of it ? But how much more when the heretics are rejoicing thereat, and interchanging their congratulations!"

The king answered, "By this, at least, we see the truth of what Buddha said ; the heretics and others insist on the permanency<sup>37</sup> of things, but our great teacher's doctrine is that all things are impermanent. As for me, my work of charity was finished, according to my purpose ; and this destructive calamity (*change*) does but strengthen my knowledge of the truth of Tathagata's doctrine. This is a great happiness (*good fortune*), and not a subject for lamentation."

On this, in company with the kings, he went to the east, and mounted the great *stupa*. Having reached the top, he looked around on the scene, and then descending the steps, suddenly a heretic (*or*, a strange man), knife in hand, rushed on the king. The king, startled at the sudden attack, stepped back a few steps up the stairs, and then bending himself down he seized the man, in order to deliver him to the magistrates. The officers were

<sup>37</sup> The heretics hold the view of endurance (*shang*, the opposite of *anitya*).

so bewildered with fright that they did not know how to move for the purpose of assisting him.

The kings all demanded that the culprit should be instantly killed, but Siladitya-raja without the least show of fear and with unchanged countenance, commanded them not to kill him ; and then he himself questioned him thus :

"What harm have I done you, that you have attempted such a deed ?"

The culprit replied, "Great king ! your virtues shine without partiality ; both at home and abroad they bring happiness. As for me, I am foolish and besotted, unequal to any great undertaking ; led astray by a single word of the heretics, and flattered by their importunity, I have turned as a traitor against the king."

The king then asked, "And why have the heretics conceived this evil purpose ?"

He answered and said, "Great king ! you have assembled the people of different countries, and exhausted your treasury in offerings to the Shamans, and cast a metal image of Buddha ; but the heretics who have come from a distance have scarcely been spoken to. Their minds, therefore, have been affected with resentment, and they procured me, wretched man that I am ! to undertake this unlucky deed."

The king then straitly questioned the heretics and their followers. There were 500 Brahmans, all of singular talent, summoned before the king. Jealous of the Sramans, whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured, they had caused the precious tower to catch fire by means of burning arrows, and they hoped that in escaping from the fire the crowd would disperse in confusion, and at such a moment they purposed to assassinate the king. Having been foiled in this, they had bribed this man to lay wait for the king in a narrow passage and kill him.

Then the ministers and the kings demanded the extermination of the heretics. The king punished the chief of them and pardoned the rest. He banished the 500 Brahmans to the frontiers of India, and then returned to his capital.

To the north-west of the capital there is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. In this place Tathagata, when in the world, preached the most excellent doctrines for seven days. By the side of this *stupa* are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked for exercise. There is, moreover, a little *stupa* containing the relics of Buddha's hair and nails ; and also a preaching-place<sup>38</sup> *stupa*.

On the south and by the side of the Ganges are three *sangharamas*, enclosed within the same walls, but with different

<sup>38</sup> That is, erected in a place where Buddha had preached.

gates. They have highly ornamented statues of Buddha. The priests are devout and reverential; they have in their service several thousands of "pure men."<sup>39</sup> In a precious casket in the *vihara* is a tooth of Buddha about one and a half inches in length, very bright, and of different colours at morning and night. People assemble from far and near; the leading men with the multitude join in one body in worship. Every day hundreds and thousands come together. The guardians of the relic, on account of the uproar and confusion occasioned by the multitude of people, placed on the exhibition a heavy tax, and proclaimed far and wide that those wishing to see the tooth of Buddha must pay one great gold piece. Nevertheless, the followers who come to worship are very numerous, and gladly pay the tax of a gold piece. On every holiday they bring it (*the relic*) out and place it on a high throne, whilst hundreds and thousands of men burn incense and scatter flowers; and although the flowers are heaped up, the tooth-casket is not overwhelmed.

In front of the *sangharama*, on the right and left hand, there are two *viharas*, each about 100 feet high, the foundation of stone and the walls of brick. In the middle are statues of Buddha highly decorated with jewels, one made of gold and silver, the other of native copper. Before each *vihara* is a little *sangharama*.

Not far to the south-east of the *sangharama* is a great *vihara*, of which the foundations are stone and the building of brick, about 200 feet high. There is a standing figure of Buddha in it about 30 feet high. It is of native copper (*bronge*?) and decorated with costly gems. On the four surrounding walls of the *vihara* are sculptured pictures. The various incidents in the life of Tathagata, when he was practising the discipline of a Bodhisattva are here fully portrayed (*engraved*).

Not far to the south of the stone *vihara* is a temple of the Sun-deva. Not far to the south of this is a temple of Mahesvara. The two temples are built of a blue stone of great lustre, and are ornamented with various elegant sculptures. In length and breadth they correspond with the *vihara* of Buddha. Each of these foundations has 100 attendants to sweep and water it; the sound of drums and of songs accompanied by music, ceases not day nor night.

To the south-east of the great city 6 or 7 li, on the south side of the Ganges, is a *stupa* about 200 feet in height, built by Asoka-raja. When in the world, Tathagata in this place preached for six months on the impermanency of the body (*anatma*), on sorrow (*dukha*), on unreality (*anitya*), and impurity.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Julien translates this by "Brahmans"; but the expression "pure men" is a common one for lay believers or *Upasakas*.

<sup>40</sup> These were the subjects on which he preached—*anatma*, *anitya*, *dukha*, *asuddhis*. For some remarks on the last of these, see Spence

On one side of this is the place where the four past Buddhas sat and walked for exercise. Moreover, there is a little *stupa* of the hair and nails of Tathagata. If a sick person with sincere faith walks round this edifice, he obtains immediate recovery and increase of religious merit.

To the south-east of the capital, going about 100 li, we come to the town of Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo (Navadevakula).<sup>41</sup> It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, and is about 20 li in circuit. There are here flowery groves, and pure lakes which reflect the shadows of the trees.

To the north-west of this town, on the eastern bank of the Ganges river, is a Deva temple, the towers and storeyed turrets of which are remarkable for their skilfully carved work. To the east of the city 5 li are three *sangharamas* with the same wall but different gates, with about 500 priests, who study the Little Vehicle according to the school of the Sarvastivadins.

Two hundred paces in front of the *sangharama* is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. Although the foundations are sunk in the ground, it is yet some 100 feet in height. It was here Tathagata in old days preached the law for seven days. In this monument is a relic (*sarira*) which ever emits a brilliant light. Beside it is a place where there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

To the north of the *sangharama* 3 or 4 li, and bordering on the Ganges river, is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, built by Ascka-raja. Here Buddha preached for seven days. At this time there were some 500 demons who came to the place where Buddha was to hear the law; understanding its character, they gave up their demon form and were born in heaven.<sup>42</sup> By the side of the preaching-*stupa* is a place where there are traces of the four Buddhas who sat and walked there. By the side of this again is a *stupa* containing the hair and nails of Tathagata.

From this going south-east 600 li or so, crossing the Ganges and going south, we come to the country of 'O-yu-t'o (Ayodhya).

Hardy, *East. Monach.*, p. 247; and Childers, *Pali Dict.*, sub *Asubho*. Julien's translation, "sur le vide (l'inutilite) de ses macerations," is outside the mark. Fa-hian alludes to this sermon, cap. xviii. (see Beal's edition, p. 71, n. 1).

<sup>41</sup> For some remarks on this place see V. St. Martin, *Memoire*, p. 350; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 382; *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. i. p. 294; and compare Fa-hian, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

<sup>42</sup> This expression, "born in heaven," is one frequently met with in Buddhist books. In the old Chinese inscription found at Buddha Gaya, the pilgrim Chi-i vowed to exhort 30,000 men to prepare themselves in their conduct for a birth in heaven, *J. R. As. S.*, N.S., vol. xiii. p. 553. And in the *Dhammapada* it is constantly mentioned.

## 'O-YU-T'O [AYODHYA]

This kingdom<sup>43</sup> is 5000 li in circuit, and the capital about 20 li. It abounds in cereals, and produces a large quantity of flowers and fruits. The climate is temperate and agreeable, the manners of the people virtuous and amiable; they love the duties of religion (*merit*), and diligently devote themselves to learning. There are about 100 *sangharamas* in the country and 3000 priests, who study both the books of the Great and the Little Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples; heretics of different schools are found in them, but few in number.

In the capital is an old *sangharama*; it was in this place that Vasubandhu<sup>44</sup> Bodhisattva, during a sojourn of several decades of years, composed various *sastras* both of the Great and Little Vehicle. By the side of it are some ruined foundation walls; this was the hall in which Vasubandhu Bodhisattva explained the principles of religion and preached for the benefit of kings of different countries, eminent men of the world, Sramans and Brahmans.

To the north of the city 40 li, by the side of the river Ganges, is a large *sangharama* in which is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. It was here that Tathagata explained the excellent principles of the law for the benefit of a congregation of Devas during a period of three months.

By the side is a *stupa* to commemorate the place where are traces of the four past Buddhas, who sat and walked here.

To the west of the *sangharama* 4 or 5 li is a *stupa* containing relics of Tathagata's hair and nails. To the north of this *stupa* are the ruins of a *sangharama*; it was here that Srilabdhā<sup>45</sup> (Shi-li-lo-to), a master of *sastras* belonging to the Sautrantika school, composed the *Vibhasha Sastra* of that school.

To the south-west of the city 5 or 6 li, in an extensive grove of Amra trees, is an old *sangharama*; this is where Asanga<sup>46</sup> Bodhisattva pursued his studies and directed the men of the

<sup>43</sup> The distance from Kanauj or from Navadevakula to Ayodhya, on the Ghaghra river is about 130 miles east-south-east. But there are various difficulties in the identification of O-yu-to with Ayodhya. Even if the Ghaghra be the Ganges of Hiuen Tsiang, it is difficult to understand why he should cross this river and go south. On the other hand, if we suppose the pilgrim to follow the course of the Ganges for 600 li and then cross it, we should place him not far from Allahabad, which is impossible. General Cunningham suggests an alteration of the distance to 60 li, and identifies O-yu-to with an old town called Kakupur, twenty miles north-west from Kanhpur (Cawnpore) (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 385).

<sup>44</sup> Vasubandhu laboured and taught in Ayodhya (Vassilief, *Boudhisme*, p. 220. Eitel, *Handbook*, sub voc.).

<sup>45</sup> In Chinese *shing-sheu*, victory-received.

<sup>46</sup> Asanga Bodhisattva was elder brother of Vasubandhu. His name is rendered into Chinese by *Wu-cho*, without attachment.

age.<sup>47</sup> Asanga Bodhisattva went up by night to the palace of Maitreya Bodhisattva, and there received<sup>48</sup> the *Yogacharya Sastra*,<sup>49</sup> the *Mahayana Sutralankaraika*,<sup>50</sup> the *Madhyanta Vibhangsastra*,<sup>51</sup> &c., and afterwards declared these to the great congregation, in their deep principles.

North-west of the Amra grove about a hundred paces is a *stupa* containing relics of the hair and nails of Tathagata. By its side are some old foundation walls. This is where Vasubandhu Bodhisattva descended from the Tushita heaven and beheld Asanga Bodhisattva. Asanga Bodhisattva was a man of Gandhara.<sup>52</sup> He was born in the middle of the thousand years following the departure of Buddha from the world; and possessed of deep spiritual insight, he soon acquired a knowledge of the doctrine (of Buddha). He became a professed disciple, and attached himself to the school of the Mahisasakas, but afterwards altered his views and embraced the teaching of the Great Vehicle. His brother, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva, belonged to the school of the Sarvastivadins, and had inherited a wide fame, with a strong intelligence and penetrating wisdom and remarkable acumen. The disciple of Asanga was Buddhasimha, a man whose secret conduct was unfathomable, of high talent and wide renown.

These two or three worthies had often talked together in this way: "We all are engaged in framing our conduct so as to enjoy the presence of Maitreya after death."<sup>53</sup> Whoever of us first dies and obtains the condition (of being so born in the heaven of Maitreya), let him come and communicate it to us, that we may know his arrival there."

After this Buddhasimha was the first to die. After three years, during which there was no message from him, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva also died. Then six months having elapsed, and there being no message either from him, all the unbelievers began to mock and ridicule, as if Vasubandhu and Buddhasimha had

<sup>47</sup> I have adopted this translation from Julien; it is not, however, entirely satisfactory; *ts'ing-yih* certainly means "to ask for more," and in this sense it might refer to pursuit of study; but I think it means he requested more information or more light, and it seems from the sentence following that this was the case, for he ascended into heaven and received certain books from Maitreya.

<sup>48</sup> Not, as Julien translates, "explained to the great assembly," but received certain books from Maitreya, and afterwards explained them to the great congregation (*samgha*) in the Amra grove.

<sup>49</sup> *Yu-kia-sse-ti-lun*.

<sup>50</sup> *Chwong-yan-ta-shing-hing-lun*.

<sup>51</sup> *Chung-pin-fen-pi-lun*.

<sup>52</sup> According to the Life of Vasubandhu, translated by Chin-ti, he was born in Purushapura, in North India.

<sup>53</sup> This was the desire of the early Buddhists after death to go to Maitreya, in the Tushita heaven. It is plainly so in the Gaya inscription, referred to above. Afterwards the fable of a Western Paradise was introduced into Buddhism, and this took the place of Maitreya's heaven.

fallen into an evil way of birth, and so there was no spiritual manifestation.

After this, Asanga Bodhisattva, during the first division of a certain night, was explaining to his disciples the law of entailing (*or conferring on others*) the power of *samadhi*, when suddenly the flame of the lamp was eclipsed, and there was a great light in space ; then a Rishi-deva, traversing through the sky, came down, and forthwith ascending the stairs of the hall, saluted Asanga. Asanga, addressing him, said, "What has been the delay in your coming ? What is your present name ?" In reply he said, "At the time of my death I went to the Tushita heaven to the inner assembly (*i.e., the immediate presence*) of Maitreya, and was there born in a lotus flower."<sup>54</sup> On the flower presently opening, Maitreya, in laudatory terms, addressed me, saying, "Welcome ! thou vastly learned one ! welcome ! thou vastly learned one !" I then paid him my respects by moving round his person, and then directly<sup>55</sup> came here to communicate my mode of life." Asanga said, "And where is Buddhasimha ?" He answered, "As I was going round Maitreya I saw Buddhasimha among the outside crowd, immersed in pleasure and merriment. He exchanged no look with me ; how then can you expect him to come to you to communicate his condition ?" Asanga answered, "That is settled ; but with respect to Maitreya, what is his appearance and what the law he declares ?" He said, "No words can describe the marks and signs (*the personal beauty*) of Maitreya. With respect to the excellent law which he declares, the principles of it are not different from those (*of our belief*). The exquisite voice of the Bodhisattva is soft and pure and refined ; those who hear it can never tire ; those who listen are never satisfied."<sup>56</sup>

To the north-west of the ruins of the preaching-hall of Asanga about 40 li, we come to an old *sangharama*, bordering the Ganges on the north. In it is a *stupa* of brick, about 100 feet high ; this is the place where Vasubandhu first conceived a desire to cultivate the teaching of the Great Vehicle.<sup>57</sup> He had come to this place from North India. At this time Asanga

<sup>54</sup> This idea of being born in or on a lotus flower gave rise to the name of "the lotus school," applied to the Tsing-t'u, or "pure land" section of Buddhists. But it is a belief not confined to any one school. The mediæval legend of the flower which opens in Paradise on the death of a pure child is a touching survival of the same thought.

<sup>55</sup> Of course the idea is that *time* in the Tushita heaven is not measured as on earth. It took six months for this flower to open.

<sup>56</sup> This singular account of the heaven of Maitreya explains the fervent longing of Hiuen Tsiang on his dying bed to participate in the happiness of those born there (see *Vie*, p. 345).

<sup>57</sup> Vasubandhu had been brought up in the Little Vehicle school. For the account of his conversion to the principles of the Great Vehicle see *Wong Puh*, § 185, *J. R. A. S.*, vol. xx. p. 206.

Bodhisattva commanded his followers to go forward to meet him. Having come to the place, they met and had an interview. The disciple of Asanga was reposing outside the open window (*of Vasubandhu*), when in the after part of the night he began to recite the *Dasabhumi Sutra*. Vasubandhu having heard it, understood the meaning, and was deeply grieved that this profound and excellent doctrine had not come to his ears in time past, and he laid the blame on his tongue as the origin of his sin of calumniating (*the Great Vehicle*), "and so," said he, "I will cut it out." Seizing a knife, he was about to do so, when he saw Asanga standing before him, who said, "Indeed the doctrine of the Great Vehicle is very profound; it is praised by all the Buddhas, exalted by all the saints. I would teach it to you, but you yourself now understand it; but now, at the very time of understanding it, what good, in the presence of this holy teaching of the Buddhas, to cut out your tongue? Do it not, but (*rather*) repent; and as in old time you abused the Great Vehicle with your tongue, now with the same member extol it. Change your life and renew yourself; this is the only good thing to do. There can be no benefit from closing your mouth and ceasing to speak." Having said this he disappeared.

Vasubandhu, in obedience to his words, gave up his purpose of cutting out his tongue. On the morrow morning he went to Asanga and accepted the teaching of the Great Vehicle. On this he gave himself up earnestly to think on the subject, and wrote a hundred and more *sastras* in agreement with the Great Vehicle, which are spread everywhere, and are in great renown.

From this going east 300 li or so on the north of the Ganges, we arrive at 'O-ye-mo-khi (Hayamukha).

#### 'O-YE-MU-KHI [HAYAMUKHA]

This kingdom<sup>58</sup> is 2400 or 2500 li in circuit, and the chief town, which borders on the Ganges, is about 20 li round. Its products and climate are the same as those of Ayodhya. The people are of a simple and honest disposition. They diligently apply themselves to learning and cultivate religion. There are five *sangharasas*, with about a thousand priests. They belong to the Sammatiya school of the Little Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds.

Not far to the south-east of the city, close to the shore of the Ganges, is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja, 200 feet high. Here Buddha in old time repeated the law for three months. Beside it are traces where the four past Buddhas walked and sat.

<sup>58</sup> This country has not been satisfactorily identified. Cunningham places the capital at Daundia Khera, about 104 miles north-west of Allahabad.

There is also another stone *stupa*, containing relics of Buddha's hair and nails.

By the side of this *stupa* is a *sangharama* with about 200 disciples in it. There is here a richly adorned statue of Buddha, as grave and dignified as if really alive. The towers and balconies are wonderfully carved and constructed, and rise up imposingly (*or*, in great numbers above the building. In old days Buddhadasa (Fo-to-to-so),<sup>59</sup> a master of *sastras*, composed in this place the *Mahavibhasha Sastra* of the school of Sarvastivadins.

Going south-east 700 li, passing to the south of the Ganges, we come to the kingdom of Po-lo-ye-kia (Prayaga).

#### PO-LO-YE-KIA [PRAYAGA].

This country<sup>60</sup> is about 5000 li in circuit, and the capital, which lies between two branches of the river, is about 20 li round. The grain products are very abundant, and fruit-trees grow in great luxuriance. The climate is warm and agreeable; the people are gentle and complaisant in their disposition. They love learning, and are very much given to heresy.

There are two *sangharamas* with a few followers, who belong to the Little Vehicle.

There are several Deva temples; the number of heretics is very great.

To the south-west of the capital, in a Champaka (*Chen-po-kia*) grove, is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja; although the foundations have sunk down, yet the walls are more than 100 feet high. Here it was in old days Tathagata discomfited the heretics. By the side of it is a *stupa* containing hair and nail relics, and also a place where (*the past Buddhas?*) sat and walked.

By the side of this last *stupa* is an old *sangharama*; this is the place where Deva Bodhisattva composed the *sastra* called *Kwang-pih* (*Sata sastra vaipulyam*), refuted the principles of the Little Vehicle and silenced the heretics. At first Deva came from South India to this *sangharama*. There was then in the town a Brahman of high controversial renown and great dialectic skill. Following to its origin the meaning of names, and relying on the different applications of the same word, he was in the habit of questioning his adversary and silencing him. Knowing the subtle skill of Deva, he desired to overthrow him and refute him in the use of words. He therefore said:—

"Pray, what is your name?" Deva said, "They call me

<sup>59</sup> Julien has pointed out that the symbol *po* is for *so*. The Chinese rendering is "servant of Buddha."

<sup>60</sup> The modern Prayaga or Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers.

Deva." The heretic rejoined, "Who is Deva?" He answered, "I am." The heretic said, "And 'I', what is that?" Deva answered, "A dog." The heretic said, "And who is a dog?" Deva said, "You." The heretic answered, "And 'you', what is that?" Deva said, "Deva." The heretic said, "And who is Deva?" He said, "I." The heretic said, "And who is 'I'?" Deva said, "A dog." Again he asked, "And who is a dog?" Deva said, "You." The heretic said, "And who is 'you'?" Deva answered, "Deva." And so they went on till the heretic understood; from that time he greatly revered the brilliant reputation of Deva.

In the city there is a Deva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records, this place is a noted one (*sri—fortunate ground*) for all living things to acquire religious merit.

If in this temple a man gives a single farthing, his merit is greater than if he gave a 1000 gold pieces elsewhere. Again, if in this temple a person is able to condemn life so as to put an end to himself, then he is born to eternal happiness in heaven.

Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree<sup>61</sup> with spreading boughs and branches, and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here, who, depending on this custom (*viz., of committing suicide*), made his abode here; accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence, when a person comes to this temple, there is everything to persuade him to despise his life and give it up: he is encouraged thereto both by the promptings of the heretics and also by the seductions of the (*evil*) spirit. From very early days till now this false custom has been practised.

Lately there was a Brahman whose family name was *Tseu* (*putra*); he was a man of deep penetration and great learning, of lucid wit and high talent. This man coming to the temple, called to the people and said, "Sirs, ye are of crooked ways and perverse mind, difficult to lead and persuade." Then he engaged in their sacrifices with them, with a view afterwards to convert them. Then he mounted the tree, and looking down on his friends he said, "I am going to die. Formerly I said that their doctrine was false and wicked; now I say it is good and true. The heavenly Rishis, with their music in the air, call me. From this fortunate spot will I cast down my poor body." He was about to cast himself down when his friends, having failed by their expostulations to deter him, spread out their garments underneath the place where he was on the tree, and so when he fell he was preserved. When he recovered he

<sup>61</sup> This tree is the well-known *Akshaya Vata*, or "undecaying banyan tree," which is still an object of worship at Allahabad (Cunningham).

said, "I thought I saw in the air the Devas calling me to come, but now by the stratagem of this hateful (*heretical*) spirit (*viz.*, of the tree), I have failed to obtain the heavenly joys."

To the east of the capital, between the two confluents of the river, for the space of 10 li or so, the ground is pleasant and upland. The whole is covered with a fine sand. From old time till now, the kings and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts in charity, ever came to this place, and here gave away their goods; hence it is called *the great charity enclosure*. At the present time Siladitya-raja, after the example of his ancestors, distributes here in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected in this space of the *charity enclosure* immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha, and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards he offers his charity to the residential priests; afterwards to the priests (*from a distance*) who are present; afterwards to the men of distinguished talent; afterwards to the heretics who live in the place, following the ways of the world; and lastly, to the widows and bereaved, orphans and desolate, poor and mendicants.

Thus, according to this order, having exhausted his treasures and given food in charity, he next gives away his head diadem and his jewelled necklaces. From the first to the last he shows no regret, and when he has finished he cries with joy. "Well done! now all that I have has entered into incorruptible and imperishable treasures."

After this the rulers of the different countries offer their jewels and robes to the king, so that his treasury is replenished.

To the east of the *enclosure of charity*, at the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters. By bathing in this water (*they say*) all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed; therefore from various quarters and distant regions people come here together and rest. During seven days they abstain from food, and afterwards end their lives. And even the monkeys and mountain stags assemble here in the neighbourhood of the river, and some of them bathe and depart, others fast and die.

On the occasion when Siladitya-raja distributed the alms in charity, there was a monkey who lived apart by the river-side under a tree. He also abstained from food in private, and after some days he died on that account from want.

The heretics who practise asceticism have raised a high column in the middle of the river; when the sun is about to go down they immediately climb up the pillar; then clinging

on to the pillar with one hand and one foot, they wonderfully hold themselves out with one foot and one arm; and so they keep themselves stretched out in the air with their eyes fixed on the sun, and their heads turning with it to the right as it sets. When the evening has darkened, then they come down. There are many dozens of ascetics who practise this rite. They hope by these means to escape from birth and death, and many continue to practise this ordeal through several decades of years.

Going from this country south-west, we enter into a great forest infested with savage beasts and wild elephants, which congregate in numbers and molest travellers, so that unless in large numbers it is difficult (*dangerous*) to pass this way.

Going 500<sup>62</sup> li or so, we come to the country Kiau-shang-mi (Kausambi).

#### KIAU-SHANG-MI [KAUSAMBI].

This country<sup>63</sup> is about 6000 li in circuit, and the capital about 30 li. The land is famous for its productiveness; the increase is very wonderful. Rice and sugarcanes are plentiful. The climate is very hot, the manners of the people hard and rough. They cultivate learning and are very earnest in their religious life and in virtue. There are ten *sangharamas*, which are in ruins and deserted; the priests are about 300; they study the Little Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples, and the number of heretics is enormous.

In the city, within an old palace, there is a large *vihara* about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood, above which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udayana). By its spiritual qualities (or, between its spiritual marks) it produces a divine light, which from time to time shines forth. The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it,<sup>64</sup> and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures.

When Tathagata first arrived at complete enlightenment, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of

<sup>62</sup> The distance is properly 50 li, as stated by Hwui-lih. The capital however, is 150 li from Prayaga.

<sup>63</sup> This has been identified with Kosambi-nagar, an old village on the Jumna, about thirty miles from Allahabad (Cunningham). Kosambi is mentioned in the *Ramayana*. It is the scene of the drama of *Ratnavali*, composed by Bana in the court of Sri-Harsha or Siladitya.

<sup>64</sup> A copy of this sandal-wood figure was brought from a temple near Pekin, and is referred to in Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. lxxv. A facsimile of it is stamped on the cover of that work. The story of Udayana, king of Kosambi, is referred to by Kalidasa in the *Meghaduta*.

his mother, and for three months remained absent. This king (*i.e.*, Udayana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore he asked Mudgalyayanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandal-wood statue. When Tathagata returned from the heavenly palace, the carved figure of sandal-wood rose and saluted the Lord of the World. The Lord then graciously addressed it and said, "The work expected from you is to toil in the conversion of heretics,"<sup>65</sup> and to lead in the way of religion future ages."

About 100 paces to the east of the *vihara* are the signs of the walking and sitting of the four former Buddhas. By the side of this, and not far off, is a well used by Tathagata, and a bathing-house. The well still has water in it, but the house has long been destroyed.

Within the city, at the south-east angle of it, is an old habitation, the ruins of which only exist. This is the house of Ghoshira (*Kun-shi-lo*) the nobleman.<sup>66</sup> In the middle is a *vihara* of Buddha, and a *stupa* containing hair and nail relics. There are also ruins of Tathagata's bathing-house.

Nor far to the south-east of the city is an old *sangharama*. This was formerly the place where Goshira the nobleman had a garden. In it is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja, about 200 feet high; here Tathagata for several years preached the law. By the side of this *stupa* are traces of the four past Buddhas where they sat down and walked. Here again is a *stupa* containing hair and nail relics of Tathagata.

To the south-east of the *sangharama*, on the top of a double-storeyed tower, is an old brick chamber where Vasubandhu Bodhisattva dwelt. In this Chamber he composed the *Vidyamatasiddhi Sastra* (*Wei-chi-lun*), intended to refute the principles of the Little Vehicle and confound the heretics.

To the east of the *sangharama*, and in the middle of an Amra grove, is an old foundation wall; this was the place where Asanga Bodhisattva composed the *sastra* called *Hin-yang-shing-kiau*.

To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 li is a stone dwelling of a venomous Naga. Having subdued this dragon, Tathagata left here his shadow; but though this is a tradition of the place, there is no vestige of the shadow visible.

By the side of it is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja, about 200

<sup>65</sup> "To teach and convert with diligence the unbelieving, to open the way for guiding future generation, this is your work." I take the symbol *sie* to refer to unbelievers; Julien makes it an interrogative (*ye*).

<sup>66</sup> Asvaghosha alludes to the conversion of Ghoshira, *Fo-sho-hing-isian-king*, v. 1710. See also Fa-hien, c. xxxiv.

feet high. Near this are marks where Tathagata walked to and fro, and also a hair and nail stupa. The disciples who are afflicted with disease, by praying here mostly are cured.

The law of Sakya becoming extinct, this will be the very last country in which it will survive; therefore from the highest to the lowest all who enter the borders of this country are deeply affected, even to tears, ere they return.

To the north-east of the Naga dwelling is a great forest, after going about 700 li through which, we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of Kia-shi-po-lo (Kasapura).<sup>67</sup> This town is about 10 li in circuit; the inhabitants are rich and well-to-do (*happy*).

By the side of the city is an old *sangharama*, of which the foundation walls alone exist. This was where Dharmapala<sup>68</sup> Bodhisattva refuted the arguments of the heretics. A former king of this country, being partial to the teaching of heresy, wished to overthrow the law of Buddha, whilst he showed the greatest respect to the unbelievers. One day he summoned from among the heretics a master of *sastras*, extremely learned and of superior talents, who clearly understood the abstruse doctrines (*of religion*). He had composed a work of heresy in a thousand *slokas*, consisting of thirty-two thousand words. In this work he contradicted and slandered the law of Buddha, and represented his own school as orthodox. Whereupon (*the king*) convoked the body of the (*Buddhist*) priests, and ordered them to discuss the question under dispute, adding that if the heretics were victorious he would destroy the law of Buddha, but that if the priests did not suffer defeat he would cut out his tongue as proof of the acknowledgment of his fault.<sup>69</sup> At this time the company of the priests being afraid they would be defeated, assembled for consultation, and said, "The sun of wisdom having set, the bridge of the law<sup>70</sup> is about to fall. The king is partial to the heretics; how can we hope to prevail against them? Things have arrived at a difficult point; is there any expedient to be found in the circumstances, as a way of escape?" The assembly remained silent, and no one stood up to suggest any plan.

<sup>67</sup> This place has been identified with the old town of Sultanpur on the Gomati river. The Hindu name of this town was Kusabhavanapura, or simply Kusapura (Cunningham).

<sup>68</sup> In Chinese *U-fa*; for some notices of *Dharmapala* see *Wong Puh*, § 191; in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx; Eitel, *Handbook* sub voc., and B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col. 373.

<sup>69</sup> This refers to the dream of king Ajatasatru, for which see *Wong Puh*, § 178. This section of *Wong Puh* shows that the great Kasyapa is supposed by Buddhists still to be within the Cock's-Foot Mountain awaiting the coming of Maitreya.

<sup>70</sup> It would seem from the context that it was the heretical teacher who asked the king to call the assembly, and that if he was defeated he said he would cut out his own tongue.

Dharmapala Bodhisattva, although young in years, had acquired a wide renown for penetration and wisdom, and the reputation of his noble character was far spread. He was now in the assembly, and standing up, with encouraging words addressed them thus : "Ignorant though I am, yet I request permission to say a few words. Verily I am ready to answer immediately to the king's summons. If by my lofty argument (*discourse*) I obtain the victory, this will prove spiritual protection ; but if I fail in the subtle part of the argument, this will be attributable to my youth. In either case there will be an escape, so that the law and the priesthood will suffer no loss." They said, "We agree to your proposition," and they voted that he should respond to the king's summons. Forthwith he ascended the pulpit.

Then the heretical teacher began to lay down his captious principles, and to maintain or propose the sense of the words and arguments used. At last, having fully explained his own position, he waited for the opposite side to speak.

Dharmapala Bodhisattva, accepting his words, said with a smile, "I am conqueror! I will show how he uses false arguments in advocating his heretical doctrines, how his sentences are confused in urging his false teaching."

The opponent, with some emotion, said, "Sir, be not high-minded ! If you can expose my words you will be the conqueror, but first take my text fairly and explain its meaning." Then Dharmapala, with modulated voice, followed the principles of his text (*thesis*), the words and the argument, without a mistake or change of expression.

When the heretic had heard the whole, he was ready to cut out his tongue ; but Dharmapala said, "It is not by cutting out your tongue you show repentance. Change your principles —that is repentance !" Immediately he explained the law for his sake ; his heart believed it and his mind embraced the truth. The king gave up his heresy and profoundly respected the law of Buddha (*the orthodox law*).

By the side of this place is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. the walls are broken down, but it is yet 200 feet or so in height. Here Buddha in old days declared the law for six months ; by the side of it are traces where he walked. There is also a hair and nail *stupa*.

Going north from this 170 or 180 li, we come to the kingdom of Pi-so-kia (Visakha).

#### PI-SO-KIA [VISAKHA]

This kingdom<sup>71</sup> is about 4000 li in circuit, and the capital about 16 li round. The country produces abundance of

<sup>71</sup> This country is supposed by Cunningham to be the same as Saketa, the Sa-chi of Fa-hien, which is the same as Ayodhya or Oude.

cereals, and is rich in flowers and fruits. The climate is soft and agreeable. The people are pure and honest. They are very diligent in study, and seek to gain merit (*by doing good*) without relaxation. There are 20 *sangharamas* and about 3000 priests, who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There are about fifty Deva temples and very many heretics.

To the south of the city, on the left of the road, is a large *sangharama*; this is where the Arhat Devasarma wrote the *Shih-shin-lun* (*Vijnankaya Sastra*), in which he defends the position that there is no "I" as an individual.<sup>72</sup> The Arhat Gopa (Kiu-po) composed also in this place the *Shing-kiau-iu-shih-lun*, in which he defends the position that there is an "I" as an individual.<sup>73</sup> These doctrines excited much controversial discussion. Again, in this place Dharmapala Bodhisattva during seven days defeated a hundred doctors belonging to the Little Vehicle.

By the side of the *sangharama* is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Here Tathagata in old days preached during six years, and occupied himself whilst so doing in guiding and converting men. By the side of this *stupa* is a wonderful tree which is 6 or 7 feet high. Through many years it has remained just the same, without increase or decrease. Formerly when Tathagata had cleansed his teeth, he threw away in this place the small piece of twig he had used. It took root, and produced the exuberant foliage which remains to the present time.<sup>74</sup> The heretics and Brahmans have frequently come together and cut it down, but it grows again as before.

Not far from this spot are traces where the four past Buddhas sat and walked. There is also a nail and hair *stupa*. Sacred buildings here follow one another in succession; the words, and lakes reflecting their shadows, are seen everywhere.

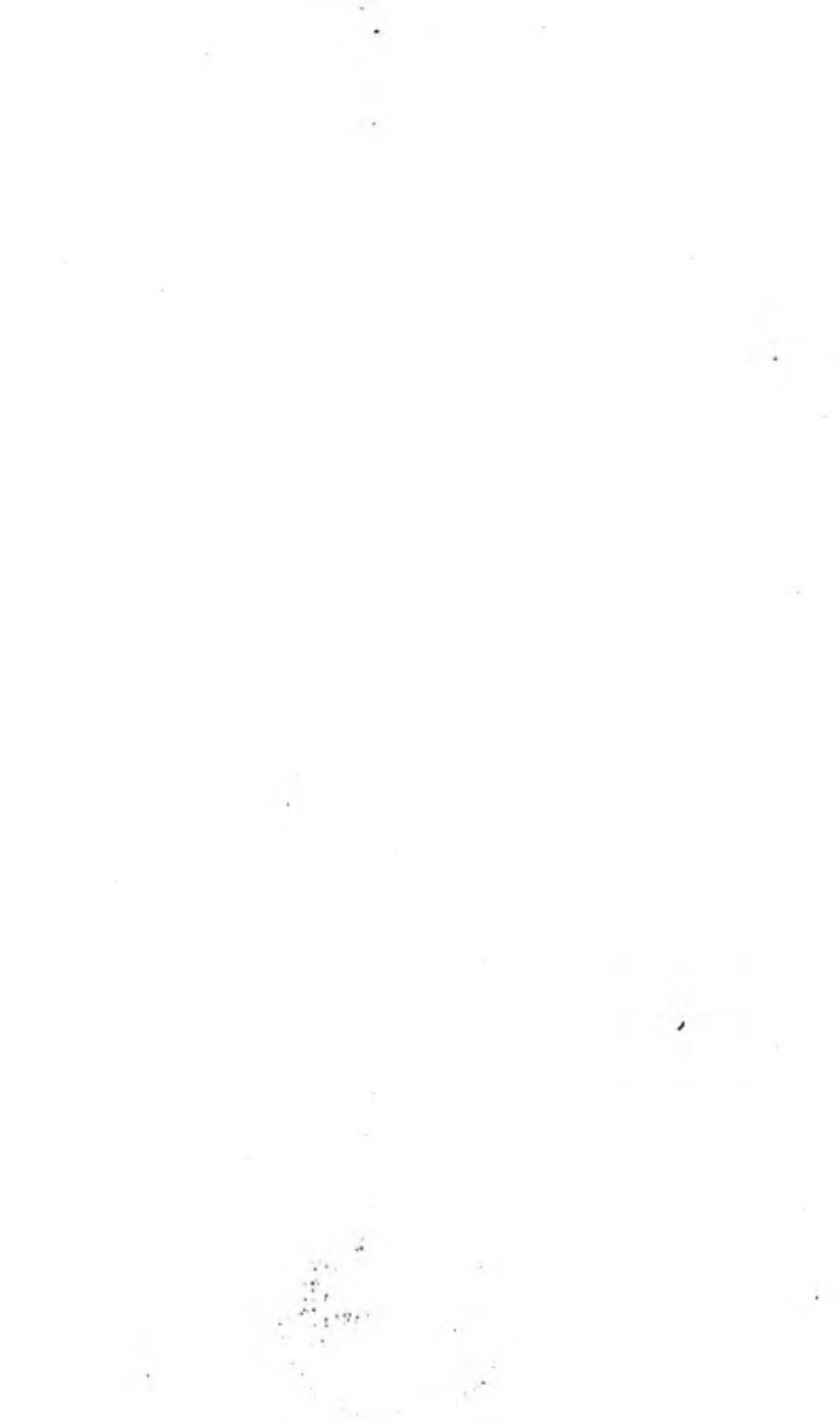
Going from this north-east 500 li or so, we come to the kingdom of *Shi-sah-lo-fu-sih-tai* (*Sravasti*).

### The End of Vol II & Book V.

<sup>72</sup> For many arguments on this question of "no personal self," see the Life of Buddha (*Buddhacharita*) by Asvaghosha, *passim*; also Wong Puh, § 190.

<sup>73</sup> This tree is also noticed by Fr. Hahn in his account of Sa-chi, and it is this which has led General Cunningham to identify Visakha with Saketa or Ayodhya.





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